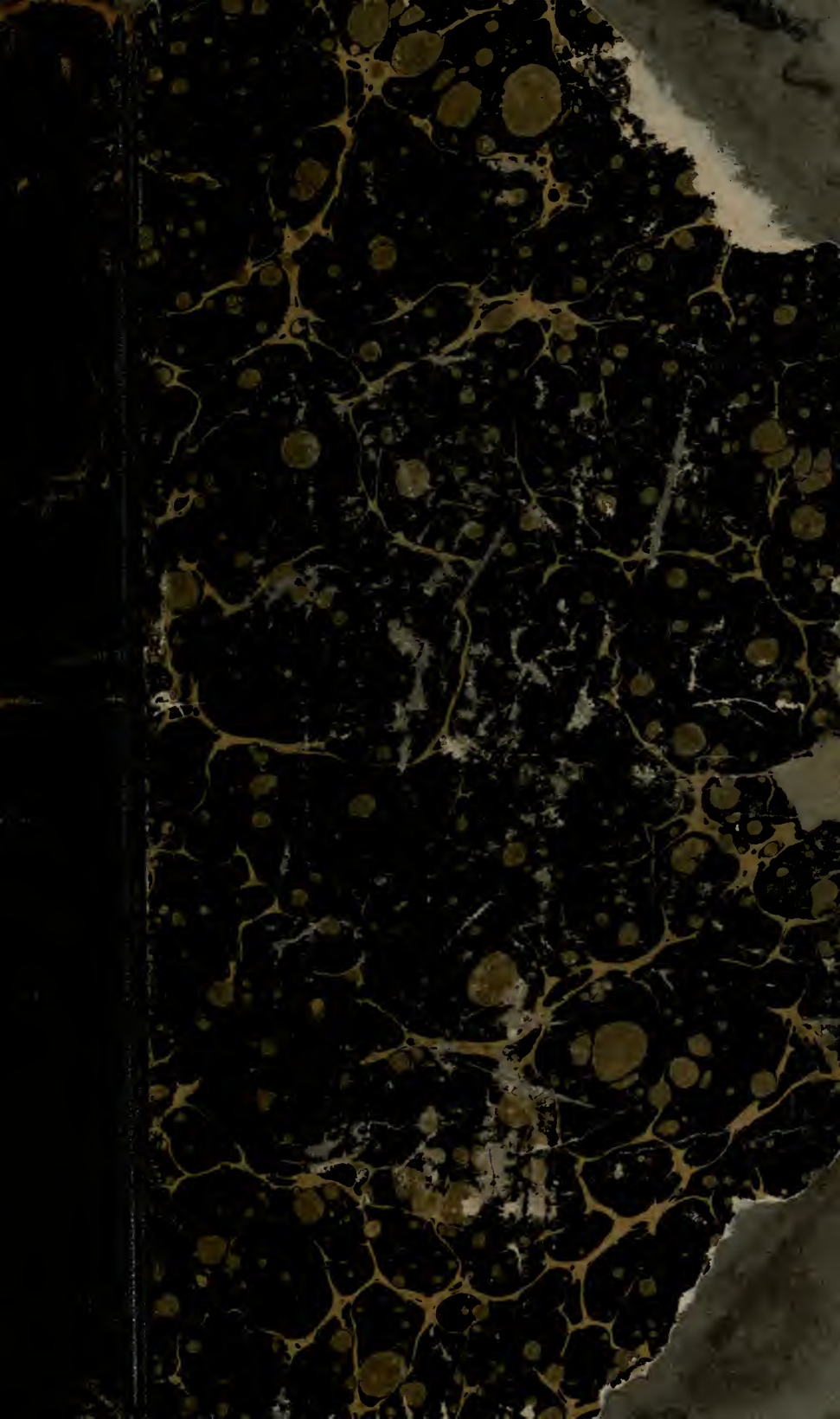




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PALAESTRA.

Untersuchungen und Texte aus der deutschen
und englischen Philologie.

Herausgegeben

von

Alois Brandl und Erich Schmidt.

XXIII.

The Constance Saga. By A. B. Gough.

BERLIN.
MAYER & MÜLLER.
1902.

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Corrigenda.

P. 11, l. 8, for *Harpin* read *Herpin*.

P. 18, n. 1, strike out 'which hands.'

The Constance Saga.

The name 'Constance saga' has been given by Prof. Suchier to a story which was very popular throughout Europe in the Middle Ages. It tells of an innocent maiden, who is banished by an unnatural father, or flees from him, and reaches a foreign land, where she marries a prince. During her husband's absence she is falsely accused of bearing a monstrous offspring, and is banished with her child, or children. Ultimately she rejoins her husband, and in many versions her father also. The saga has been named after the heroine of one of the most important versions, that in Nicholas Trivet's French Chronicle. For two reasons the saga is of peculiar interest. Firstly, it is spread all over Europe, not only in *märchen*, but also in literary versions, which date from the 12th century to the 19th. Secondly, it has been repeatedly associated with English historical traditions. The following pages deal with these two aspects of the saga. In Part I the sources and mutual relations of the extant literary versions are investigated, and Part II deals with the relations of the saga to history. The inquiry was suggested by, and is largely based upon, two valuable writings of Prof. Suchier, viz. his article '*Über die Sage von Offa und Pryðo*', in Paul and Braune's *Beiträge*, IV, Halle 1877, pp. 500—521, and his edition of the poetical works of Beaumanoir (Soc. des anciens textes français, 18), Paris 1884, I, pp. XXIII—XCVI, CLIX f. Other writings will be noticed in the following list of versions, and as occasion offers. I am greatly indebted to Prof. Sarrazin for kind advice and assistance during the preparation of this paper, which in its original shape formed the second

part of my inaugural dissertation¹⁾, but as it has since been considerably altered I cannot claim his sanction for the views expressed. My thanks are also due to Miss M. R. Cox and N. W. Thomas Esq. for information with which they have kindly supplied me. I have thought it best to leave the difficult question of the alleged mythological significance of the saga to those better qualified than myself to form an opinion.²⁾

I. The Mutual Relations of the Literary Versions.

The following list of versions is derived in the main from that given by Suchier in his edition of Beaumanoir (I, pp. XXV—LIII, CLIX), where fuller bibliographical notices of them will be found. In the account of their contents which follows (p. 9 ff.), my information is chiefly derived from the texts themselves, or in three cases where they were not accessible, from secondary and derived versions (HC, Ol), or from an exhaustive analysis (MI). Co, which I have unfortunately not examined, and Fa, which is not important, have been neglected.

Of 1 Part of the *Vita Offæ Primi*, one of two Latin prose lives by an unknown monk of St Albans, probably of the 12th cent. Formerly attributed to Matt. Paris. The part containing the tale is printed, with an analysis, by Brock and Furnivall for the Chaucer Society in *Originals*

¹⁾ Some further remarks on the Constance saga will be found in the first part: A. Gough, *On the Middle English Metrical Romance of Emare*, inaug. diss., Kiel 1900.

²⁾ Cf. the books referred to by Suchier in Paul & Braune IV, p. 514, and in *Beaum.* I, p. LXXIX; also H. C. Coote on *Catskin* in *The Folk-Lore Record* vol. III, 1880, Part I, p. 1 ff.; Miss M. R. Cox, *Cinderella*, passim, especially the part on *Catskin*; Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, ed. 4, I. pp. 353—358, *Deutsche Sagen*, 49, 304, *Kinder- u. Haus-märchen*, nos. 11, 49; Kuhn & Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen* 115, 151; Schwartz, *De fabula Danaeica*; W. Müller, *Mythologie der deutschen Heldensage*, 1886, p. 188; Mogk in Paul's *Grundriss*, ed. 1898, III, pp. 269 ff., 278 ff.

and Analogues of some of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, 2nd series VII, Part I, 1872, pp. 73—84.

MB *Mai und Bêaflôr*. German poem in the Austrian-Bavarian dialect, written by a layman, possibly Pleier, 1256—1263, probably 1257—1259 (Wächter, pp. 76, 57). The author professes to be illiterate, and says he heard the story from a knight, who had read it in a prose chronicle (col. 3. ll. 10—16). Ed. anon. by F. Pfeiffer, in *Dichtungen des deutschen Mittelalters*, VII, Leipzig 1848. Cf. O. Wächter, *Untersuchungen über . . . M. u. B.*, inaug. diss., Jena 1889.

HC *La belle Helene de Constantinople*. French romance in alexandrines, of the 13th (Suchier, *Beaum.* I, p. XXVII) or early 14th cent. (G. Paris, *Litt. franç. au moyen âge*, ed. 2, p. 254). No edition or analysis appears to have been printed. Numerous prose versions exist as chapbooks in French, German, Dutch &c. There is a prose French version by Wauquelin. For analyses see Suchier, *Beaum.* p. XXVIII.

ML *La Manekine*. N. French metrical romance by Phil. de Remi, sire de Beaumanoir, c. 1270. Ed. Suchier, in *Œuvres poétiques de . . . Beaumanoir* (Soc. des anc. textes fr., 18) Paris 1884, tome I. Incorporated in the 14th cent. *chanson de geste*, *Herpin de Bourges* (Suchier, *Beaum.* I, pp. LXXXI—LXXXIV); dramatised in *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*, No. 29, between 1345 and 1380 (Ed. G. Paris & Robert, 1880, V. Cf. Suchier, *Beaum.* I, pp. LXXXIV—XC); told in prose by Wauquelin (Suchier, *Beaum.* I, pp. 267—366).

En A story in the riming Universal Chronicle (*Weltbuch*) of Jan Enikel or Enenkel ll. 26,677—27,356, written at Vienna 1277—1300. Ed. Von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, II, pp. 593—613, notes III, pp. CLIV—CLXII; also Strauch in *Mon. Germ. Hist. vern. ling.* III, part 1, pp. 520—532.

KR A prose variant of En, also in the Austrian dialect, entitled '*Der Künig ze Riuzen*', printed in the introduction to Pfeiffer's MB, p. IX. According to Suchier

(*Beaum.* I, p. XXXVI) the source of En; Strauch reverses the relation. As it agrees closely with En it is generally disregarded in the following inquiry.

M *La Comtesse d'Anjou*. French *dit* by Jehan Maillart, (formerly called mistakenly *Alart*, and *Peschotte*. Cf. P. & G. Paris, *op. infr. cit.* p. 320) 1316. Apparently unprinted, but cf. Suchier, *Beaum.* I, p. XXXVII. Fully analysed by P. & G. Paris in *Hist. Litt. de la France* XXXI, pp. 318—350. Cf. *Romania* XIX, p. 106 ff.

Tr The Life of Constance in the Anglo-French Chronicle written 1334—47 by Nic. Trivet, an English Dominican. Ed. E. Brock for the Chaucer Soc., in *Originals and Analogues of some of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, series 2, No. VII, Pt. 1, 1872, pp. III—53. Followed by Chaucer in the poem afterwards inserted by him in the *Cant. Tales*, as *The Man of Lawes Tale*, and by Gower, c. 1390, in *Confessio Amantis*, II, 38. Cf. E. Lücke, *Das Leben der Constanze bei Trivet, Gower u. Chaucer*, inaug. diss., Halle 1891.

Em *Emare*. Metrical romance, written in the 14th cent. in the N. E. Midland of England. Ed. Ritson, *Ancient Engleish Metrical Romanceës* [sic]. 1802, II, pp. 204—247, notes &c. III, pp. 222, 323—333, 440, 443. Also edited by myself in Morsbach and Holthausen's *Old and Middle English Texts*, vol. 2, Heidelberg 1901. Cf. my inaug. diss., *Emare*, Kiel 1900.

Ys A Latin prose tale, entitled '*Ystoria Regis Franchorum et filie in quam adulterium committere voluit*', inserted in an O. T. commentary in a volume probably of Italian origin (it contains comments on Dante's *Div. Com.*) written 1370. Paris, Bibl. Nat., mss. latins no. 8701. pp. 142—147.

Pec The novella of *Dionigia* in Ser Giovanni Fiorentino's *Il Pecorone*, giorn. X, no. 1, 1378.

Da *Novella della figlia del Re di Dacia*. Italian prose, 14th cent. Cf. D'Ancona, *Sa. Uliva*, p. 236. Ed. Wesselofsky,

Pisa [pub. Nistri, 1866], with an inquiry into the history of the saga.

Ilu *Historia del Rey de Hungria*. Catalan prose, end of 14th cent. Ed. P. de Bofarull y Mascaró, *Coleccion de documentos inéditos del archivo general de la corona de Aragon*, Tomo 13, *Documentos literarios en antigua lengua catalana*, Barcelona 1857, pp. 53—79.

Ol *Historia de la Regina Oliva*. Italian romance in *ottava rima*. Two main versions exist, the elder c. 1400. For MSS. and editions see Suchier, *Beaum.* I, p. XLVI f. Followed by an early Italian drama, *La Rappresentazione di Santa Uliva*, ed. with an introduction by D'Ancona, *Sacre Rappresentazioni*, Firenze 1872, tom. III, pp. 235-315. This is the first of a series of Italian dramas on the subject, extending into the 19th century (Suchier, *Beaum.* I, p. XCVI).

Bu *Die Königstochter von Frankreich*. German metrical romance, written 1400 (not 1401) by Hans von Bühel or 'der Büheler', an illiterate, and probably knightly, native of Alsace, but resident near Bonn. The last chapter is a late addition. Ed. with introduction by Merzdorf, Oldenburg 1867. Cf. Strobl in Pfeiffer's *Germania* XII, pp. 109—114, F. Seelig in *Strassb. Studien* III, p. 295.

Vi Fragmentary story in the *Vitorial*, a Spanish prose chronicle by Gutierre Diez de Games, c. 1440. Ed. L. Lemcke, Marburg 1865, p. 20. French trl. by De Circourt and De Puymaigre, *Le Vitorial, chronique . . . par G. D. de Gamez &c.*, Paris 1867, livre II, chap. 26, p. 258 ff.

Fa *De origine inter Gallos et Britannos belli historia*. Latin prose by Bartol. Fazio, before 1457. Compiled from Da, Ol, §* (see below) &c. Ed. Camusat, *Bibl. Ciaconii*, Paris 1731, col. 884. (Not seen.)

VM A short prose legend, no. XI in the Venetian collection called *Miraculi de la gloriosa verzene Maria*, Vicenza 1475. For Greek and Russian versions see Suchier. *Beaum.* I, p. L f. Dramatised in the 15th cent., as *La Rappresentazione di Stella*, ed. D'Ancona, *Sacre Rappr.*, Firenze 1872, tom. III, p. 319 ff.

Pen *La Penta manomozza*. Norella in the Neapolitan dialect, written before 1637 by Giamb. Basile in *Il Pentamerone*, giorn. 3, nov. 2 (= no. 22).

Co *Istoria de la filla del emperador Contasti, qui fo lo primer emperador de Roma, la qual lo pare per mala iniquitat, con no li volch consentir que jagues ab ella la mana ociura a dos scudes, los quals no la volgueren ociure et materen la en una nau e puyz fou muller del Rey Despanya*. Catalan prose tale in a unique MS. from the Bibl. Colomb. in Seville, now in Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds espagnol, no. 475. (Not seen.) Cf. [H. Harrisse] *Grandeur et décadence de la Colombine*, ed. 2, Paris 1885. Suchier, *Beaum.* I, p. CLIX f.

While endeavouring to determine the primitive form of the saga, we must not neglect the numerous folk-tales, scattered over nearly the whole of Europe, which contain the same story in varying forms. Most of these are probably unaffected by the literary versions, (some important exceptions will be noted below, p. 9, n. 1.) and reach back to a remote antiquity. I have neither the qualifications nor the space to discuss these folk-tales fully, and must content myself with a few brief remarks, based upon Suchier's account of them (*Beaumanoir*, I, pp. LVIII—LXXII). I follow his notation. The 42 tales, collected in part by R. Köhler, occur in the following languages.

a	<i>Gaelic</i> , W. Highlands.	k	<i>French</i> , Brittany.
b	<i>German</i> , Harz.	l	" "
c	" Hesse.	m	" "
d	" "	n	<i>Gascon</i> , Gers.
e	" Mecklenburg.	o	<i>Catalan</i> .
f	" Silesia.	p	<i>Italian</i> , Tyrol.
g	" Baden.	q	" Tuscany, Pistoja.
h	" Tyrol.	r	" " "
i	<i>French</i> , Normandy.	s	" " "
j	" Brittany.	t	" " "

u	<i>Italian</i> , Tuscany, Pisa.	ξ	<i>Russian</i> , Riazan.
v	" " Arezzo.	η	<i>Serb</i> , Bosnia.
w	" " Spoleto.	θ	" "
x	" Sicily.	ι	<i>Greek</i> , Zante.
y	<i>Rhæto-Romanic</i> , Grisons.	ζ	<i>Finnish</i> .
z	<i>Roumanian</i> , Transylvania.	λ	" "
α	<i>Lithuanian</i> .	μ	<i>Tatar</i> .
β	<i>Russian</i> , Grodno.	ν	" Kirghiz.
γ	" Orel.	ξ	" Tobolsk.
δ	"	ο	<i>Arabic</i> . (1001 Nights ¹).)
ε	"	π	<i>Swaheli</i> , Zanzibar.

Omitting certain imperfect forms, f, u, v, ι, ν, π, Suchier (p. LXVIII f.) classifies the folk-tales as follows.

- A¹ The father wishes to marry the daughter, c, z.
A² He tries to prevent her from praying, e, s, from giving alms ξ, (o).
A³ He sells her to the devil, d, g, m, o, y.
A⁴ The step-mother accuses her to the father (combination with B¹), a, n, t.
B¹ The step-mother persecutes her, l, w, θ.
B² The mother (who keeps an inn²), except in i, η) persecutes her, b, h, i, p, q, r, x, η (r is combined with A¹).
C¹ The brother wishes to marry the sister, Pen.
C² The sister-in-law³) accuses her to the brother, α, λ, μ, to the husband, β.
C³ The sister-in-law commits three crimes, to inculcate the heroine, j, k, γ, δ, ε, ξ, ζ.

B¹ und C¹, according to Suchier, are variants of the primitive type A¹, and these three are the the starting-points of the others. The Constance saga follows A¹, which was therefore in existence in the 12th century (Of 1),

¹) A late interpolation.

²) So the step-mother in w (B¹).

³) The step-mother in α, by a combination with B¹.

but we find among the literary versions two divergent types, VM which agrees with B¹, and Pen, which in the sole known representative of C¹. In B the introduction of the wicked step-mother is due to the influence of a tale of the *Sneewittchen* type, and similarly C² and C³ have been affected by the Slavonic *märchen* of *The Sisters-in-law*.

The local distribution of the types supports Suchier's view. In seeking for the original locality of A we may disregard the composite group A⁴. There remain four German versions, c, d, e, g, and two, y, z, from the borders of German districts; two, o, s, from S. Europe, one, m, from Brittany, and an Oriental sub-group ξ, o. The versions of the most primitive type A¹, c and z, are located in the vicinity of alleged Saxon populations¹⁾ (Zwehren near Cassel, and Broos, comitat Hunyad, Transylvania). In several respects these two versions agree closely with the Constance saga, which is undoubtedly of Anglian origin. It may therefore be considered certain that A, the primitive form of the story, belongs to the Teutonic race, and probably to the N. Germans.

Of the eleven forms of B, five, p, q, r, w, x, are Italian, one, h, is on the Italian border, two, η, θ, are not remote from Italy, two, i, l, are N. French, and one, b, is N. German. B agrees with the N. Italian VM, and may without hesitation be assigned to Italy.

C is confined within definite limits. C² may be traced to the E. shores of the Baltic (α, β, λ). One version, μ, is Tatar. C³, a later development²⁾, is Russian (γ, δ, ε, ζ), and Finnish (κ).

¹⁾ The same may be said of e, and of a variant of B, viz. b. Possibly the purity with which the tradition has been maintained in z is due to the isolation of the Transylvanian Germans, who, it should be added, are perhaps more Low-Frankish than Saxon.

²⁾ Two versions of this type, j, k, have strayed into Brittany, whither, as Suchier remarks (p. LXIX) they may have been brought by sailors or soldiers. It is noteworthy that the majority of the tales which have strayed far from their centres are found on or near the coast, viz. a, i, j, k, l, m, o, ι, π.

It is quite what might be expected that the German A is the source of the Italian B on the one hand, and of the Baltic and Russian C on the other. The primitive Teutonic folk-tale A may be partially reconstructed by a comparison of the variants¹⁾.

A.

1. A father desires to marry his daughter (A) c, z.
2. She refuses, and her hands are cut off as a punishment A, B, C.
3. She flees to a forest A, B, C.
4. A king finds her in a hollow tree or cave (A) m, o, (g, y); (B) p, η, (l); (C) k, δ, ε, (j); also π.
5. The king marries her A, B, C.
6. He goes away to the wars A, B, C.

¹⁾ Caution is necessary here, for some of the *märchen* have certainly been affected by literary versions. Of the latter, perhaps only HC, Mk, VM and Ol ever became widely popular. In the Tuscan *märchen* (q—w) are several close parallels to the popular Italian dramas based on VM and Ol. Thus with Ol may be compared the two sea voyages in r, the exposure on the second occasion in a chest in r, t, u, the incestuous demand in r, v, the sending to the father of the heroine's hands in a plate, and her name *Oliva* in v; and again with *Stella* (form of VM) the marriage with the son of the King of France in r, the double crime of the step-mother in w, and her accusation of the heroine before the father in t (it also occurs in a and n).

The burning or burying of wax dolls as substitutes in the Tuscan r, s, t, may be compared with similar incidents in the chapbooks derived from HC and Mk. In the Breton l the burying of a log recalls the burning of a log in the French Mk. The feeding by animals (e,) j, k, l, m, o, chiefly found in French *märchen*, and the taking of an animal's heart and eyes to the mother-in-law as proof of the heroine's death, c, f, h, i, p, q, r, w, μ, are probably borrowed from other folk-tales (Suchier, p. LXXI f.). The latter incident belongs mainly to B. The episode of the garden where the heroine plucks fruit with her mouth is confined almost entirely to the Russian and German versions, and is, as Suchier observes (p. LXVI f.), an evident addition.

7. During his absence the heroine bears a son¹⁾ (A) c, z, o, d, (n); (B) b, x; (C) a, β, λ, μ, γ, δ, ε, ζ, z; also ν, π.
8. The wicked mother-in-law A, B, forges two letters, the first to the king, calumniating his wife, the second as if from the king, ordering her punishment A, B, C.
9. She and her child are banished A, B, C.
10. They cross the water.²⁾ (?)
11. The heroine gains new hands during her second exile A, B, C.
12. The miracle is caused by her dipping her arms in a fountain A, B, C.
13. Her new hands are of gold³⁾ or silver (A) c; (B) w, φ, h.
14. She meets her husband A, B, C.
15. The king's reunion with his family is effected through his noticing the behaviour of his child (children).
16. He does not at first recognize his wife, because she has hands (A) c, z, s, g; (B) l, p; (C) β, j.

If we now turn to the literary versions of the Constance saga, and attempt to separate the primitive elements of the story from later accretions and alterations, we shall

¹⁾ In B there are two children. Where there are two in A and C, the *märchen* appear to have been affected by the neighbourhood of B (s, g, j, k, m, y) or to be mixed with other tales (e, o).

²⁾ So h, η (?), z, ν; on the former flight in c. In h, ν, she takes refuge during her second exile in a house in the middle of a lake, and in z her second exposure is in an iron cask (much as in MB, En, Ol, Pen). In the Tuscan r, t, u, the voyage in a chest may be borrowed from Ol. But it is among races so remote and untouched by literary influences as the Kirghiz (ν), Carelians (z) and Bosnians (η), that an incident, elsewhere lost, may easily survive. A mythical significance has been ascribed by W. Müller (in *Germania* I, 435 ff.) to the voyage and confinement in a box. Among inland populations a voyage would naturally be altered to a land journey.

³⁾ Her son (sons) receives golden hands (B) ι, η; (C) γ, φ, ε, ζ.

find that the original type, which we may call α^* , corresponds very closely with this primitive form A of the *märchen*. The following incidents in A are however absent from α^* or nearly so.

4. Scarcely a trace.

12. Only in Mk, which apparently borrows it from a *märchen*. Cf. Suchier, p. LXVII.

13. Only in *Harpin de Bourges* (a form of Mk). It is very doubtful whether 13 belongs to the original A, although a mythical significance has been attributed to it by Wesselofsky (*Re di Dacia*). It is chiefly found among the Slavs (γ , δ , ϵ , ξ , η , ϑ).

15. A somewhat similar incident is found in the literary group δ^* (below, nos. 64—68) where it seems to be borrowed from another saga.

16. Only in Hu and Ol, which probably borrow it from *märchen*.

The remaining incidents probably all belong to α^* . As will be seen later (p. 16) α^* falls into two groups, β^* and γ^* . Some of the incidents are confined to one or other of these two groups. Thus the hands are cut off as a punishment (2), and the lady is found by a king hunting in a forest (3), only in β^* .¹⁾ It is only in γ^* that the heroine has only one son (7), that the traitress is the mother-in-law (8), that there are two forged letters (8), and that the lady and her infant cross the sea (10). In spite of this, the presence of these incidents in numerous *märchen* versions makes it highly probable that they belonged to the primitive saga α^* , and were omitted or changed in β^* and γ^* respectively.

The mutilation of the heroine presents some difficulties. In γ^* she voluntarily cuts off her own hands before her first flight. In β^* (Of 1, VM, HC) the mutilation is a punishment, but in two cases (Of 1, HC) out of three, it occurs before the *second* exile. In both these versions however there

¹⁾ (2) in Of 1, VM, HC, (3) in Of 1, HC. She is found in a forest by her future husband in VM, who in the variant *Stella* is hunting.

are traces of an original mutilation before the first exile. In Of 1 the father orders his daughter to be slain and thrown to the beasts, but his servants let her go '*sine trucidatione et membrorum mutilatione*'. She is also spared on the second occasion, but her children are cut to pieces. In HC she says she will rather cut off her limbs than obey her father, and seizes a knife to kill herself. I believe that VM, which follows 2, has preserved the original tradition, agreeing herein with nearly all the *märchen*. (Cf. Suchier, *Beaum.* pp. LVI, LXX.) The miracle by which the heroine gains new hands (11) is placed in the second exile in Of 1, HC, Hu, VM, as in the *märchen*, and doubtless in accordance with the primitive tale; but in Da, Ol, Vi, it is before the marriage, and in Mk, Pen at the end.

The primitive form of the Constance saga appears to have contained the following incidents.

α^*

1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14.

17. The heroine takes treasure or rich robes with her on her first flight Of 1, MB, HC, En, Ml, Tr, Em, Vi.

18. She marries a king in England Of 1, HC, Mk, Tr, Pec, Bu, Vi.

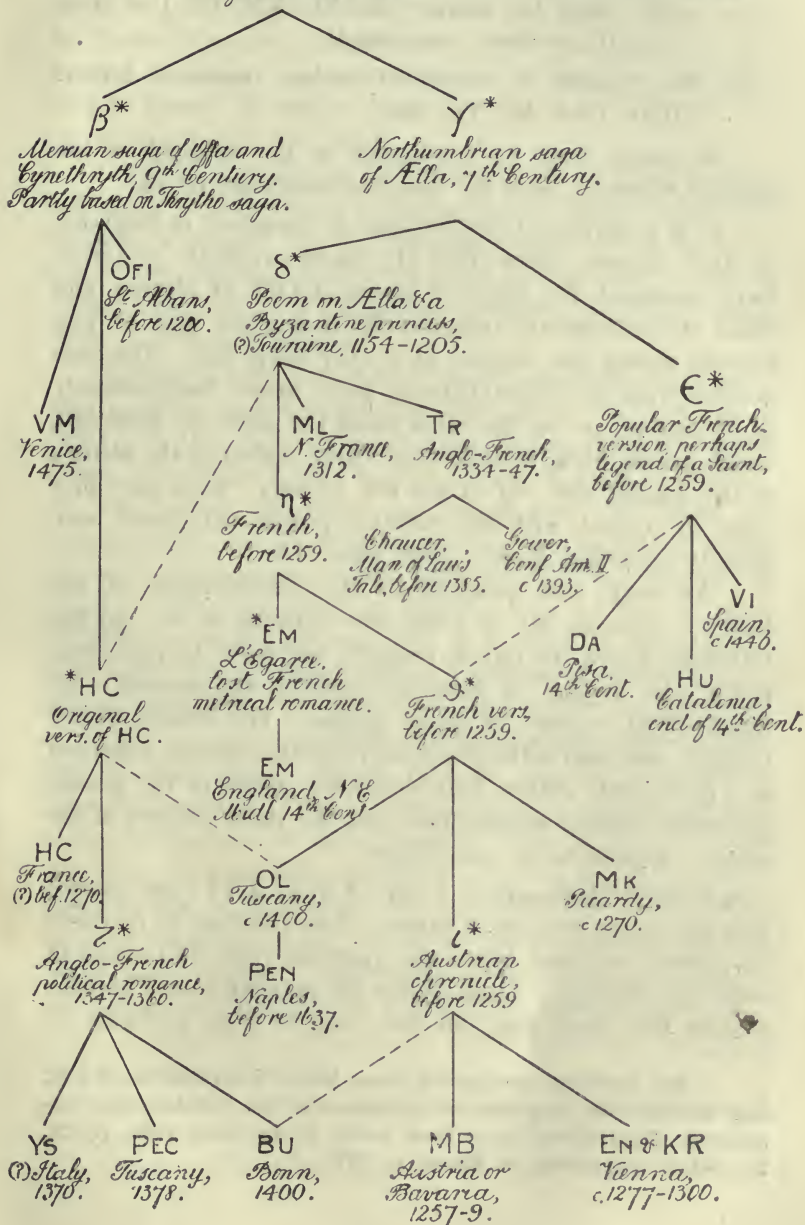
19. He fights the Scots¹⁾ Of 1, Tr, Bu (HC, Pec).

20. A stranger protects the mother and her offspring (*passim*).

¹⁾ In HC (as in other versions, no. 74) the war on this occasion is with the Saracens. In Wauquelin's prose version of HC there is a war on a subsequent occasion with a Scottish king, but in the other prose versions of HC, this king is besieged in Narbonne. As neither the text of the poem, nor, so far as I know, any analysis of it, has been published, I cannot say whether HC contains the Scottish war or not. In Mk the husband is king of Scotland, i. e. Northumbria, for York is in his dominions. Ireland is also in his possession. In Bu the Irish combine with the Scots to invade England. In Pec an island rebels against the king of England.

Q*

*Prehistoric
Anglian Folk-Tale.*



21. The husband on his return discovers the treachery, and burns the traitor Ml, Bu, VM, Ol, Pen (Em, Ys, Hu, sentence commuted).
22. The heroine is reconciled to her repentant father. (Exc. Of 1, Ml, Ys, Hu.)

So much may be attributed to the original of the literary versions, with the possible exception of 19.

α^* is a variant of the Teutonic A, localised in England. If, as is argued below (Part II), its two variants β^* and γ^* have assumed the form of sagas of Offa of Mercia, and Ælla of Northumbria respectively, it is clear that α^* was current among the Angles at a very early date. The connection with the Scots (19) may have arisen independently in β^* and γ^* , or on the other hand the saga of Ælla (γ^*), which points back to that very early period in the history of the Angles, the end of the 6th century, when they first came in contact with the Scottish power, may have been already embodied in α^* . (See Part II.)

We may now proceed to the classification of the literary versions, all of which are variants of α^* . In the following pages the Greek letters¹⁾ are used, to represent, firstly the groups of existing versions, and secondly the hypothetical sources of these groups. The results of the enquiry, embodied in the accompanying table, must be regarded as approximate rather than definitive. Some of the details doubtless require modification, but the main outlines of the scheme appear to be established.

↘ Suchier (*Beaumanoir* I, pp. XXIV, XXV) has shown that there are two main types. “Les versions de ce conte se divisent en deux types que j'appelle celui de l'ermite et celui du sénateur. Dans celles du premier type l'héroïne a deux fils; deux fois elle est conduite dans la forêt; la

¹⁾ The asterisks distinguish these letters from those on p. 7 ff., and indicate the hypothetical existence of the versions they represent. They should have been added in my inaug. diss., pp. 21, 22, and in my edition of *Emare*, p. VIII.

seconde fois elle est recueillie par un ermite, et c'est chez lui qu'à la fin elle est retrouvée par son mari. Dans celles de l'autre type elle n'a qu'un fils; deux fois elle est abandonnée à la mer; la seconde fois elle parvient à Rome, où elle trouve un refuge chez un sénateur, chez lequel elle est retrouvée par son mari.

"Ces deux traditions, qui primitivement n'en font qu'une, ont existé à côté l'une de l'autre dans l'Angleterre septentrionale avant la fin du douzième siècle. Plus tard on trouve des versions mixtes où elles se sont plus ou moins confondues. On peut cependant distinguer les deux types encore après des siècles."

Further, on pp. LIV, LV, "Il n'y a que deux représentants purs du type de l'ermite: *Offa* [Of 1] et le *Miracolo* [VM]. Ce type prévaut aussi dans *Hélène* [HC] (le roi la trouve à la chasse; elle a deux fils élevés chez un ermite), où l'on constate pourtant une fusion avec des traits qui appartiennent au type du sénateur. Le caractère mixte est encore plus marqué dans l'histoire d'*Oliva* [OI] qui est exposée deux fois dans la forêt et deux fois sur la mer. L'*Ystoria regis Franchorum* [Ys] et le conte de Basile [Pen] sont aussi des versions mixtes: l'héroïne de celle-là s'enfuit la première fois par terre, la seconde fois par mer, et Penta le fait *vice versa*. Cela nous fait supposer que dans la fin l'*Ystoria* suit le type du sénateur et *Penta* le type de l'ermite. Cette supposition est confirmée par plusieurs traits que j'ai déjà signalés. Dans l'*Ystoria* ce sont les deux fils dont elle accouche, l'absence du mari motivée par une fête à la cour de son beau-père et le manque du premier changement de lettres qui rattachent cette version au type de l'ermite. Dans *Penta* c'est, outre la fin, le rôle de Nuccia qui rappelle ce même type; mais le commencement, l'exposition par mer et l'accouchement d'un seul enfant sont de l'autre."

The above remarks provide a basis for classification.¹⁾

¹⁾ Since writing this paper I have read Count T. de Puy-

Two versions, Fa and Co, are omitted from the following scheme. Of Co I know nothing more than the title. Fa is a 15th century compilation from several versions (Suchier, *Beaum.* I, p. XLVIII f.).

Suchier recognizes Ol, Pen, HC and Ys as mixed. As I shall attempt to show, Ys belongs to a group ζ^* , consisting of Ys, Pec, and Bu, and derived from a form of HC. We have therefore two variants of the primitive type α^* , viz. β^* followed by Of 1 and VM, and γ^* followed by MB, Mk, En, Ml, Tr, Da, Em, Hu, Vi; while HC, Ys, Pec, Bu, Ol and Pen form a mixed group.

β^*

Of 1, VM, (HC, Ys, Pec, Bu, Ol, Pen).

23. The King is hunting when he finds the lady Of 1, VM, HC, Ol.
24. He entrusts her to his servants Of 1, VM.
25. Two children are born Of 1, VM, HC, Ys, Pec.
26. The traitor is not the mother-in-law¹⁾ (8) Of 1 (father), VM (step-mother), Pen.
27. The first forged letter is omitted Of 1, VM, Ys, + Hu.
28. The second journey is by land Of 1, VM, Pen; by land and sea HC (Pec, Bu).
29. Mutilation is ordered at the second banishment Of 1, HC.
30. The protector (20) is a hermit Of 1, VM, HC.

maigre's article, *La Fille aux mains coupées*, in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, Paris, 1884, X, pp. 193—209. He only mentions some of the versions, which he divides into three classes, viz. I, the story in its complete form ($= \epsilon^*$ with δ^*) Vi, Da, Hu, Ol, Pen; II, omitting the cutting off of the heroine's hands ($= \delta^*$) HC, Ml, Fa; III, omitting the incestuous desire, VM. As far as it goes, this classification is quite consistent with my own. An account of several *märchen* and variants of Ol and VM will be found in the paper. De Puymaigre (p. 207 f.) rejects Wesselofsky's theory of a nature myth.

¹⁾ In Ml (γ^*) the husband's aunt.

The relation of this type to history, and to the saga of Offa and Thrytho is discussed below.

Of 1 may be one of the sources of the mixed version HC, as there appears to be nothing characteristic of β^* in the latter which is not also found in Of 1.

Of 1, if a source of VM, is not the sole source, as the mutilation (2) and the burning of the traitor (21) are absent from the former.

γ^*

MB, Mk, En, Ml, Tr, Da, Em, Hu, Vi, (HC, Ys, Pec, Bu, Ol, Pen).

31. The mutilation is voluntary¹⁾ Mk, En, Da, Hu, Vi, (HC), Ol, Pen.

32. The first flight is by sea²⁾, and not in a forest MB, Mk, En, Tr, Em, Hu, Vi, Bu, Pen; by land and sea HC, Pec, Ol.

33. The vessel drifts without oars &c. Tr, Em, Hu, HC, Bu, MB, Mk, En, Ol, Pen.

34. The heroine travels with a companion MB, Ml, Da, HC, Ol.

35. She lives awhile in the country where she lands, before the king finds her Ml, Tr, Da, Em, HC, Ys, Pec, Bu.

36. She becomes a servant Ml, Tr, Da, Em, Ys, Bu, Ol, Pen.

37. She conceals her origin MB, Mk, En, Ml, Tr, Da, Em, Hu, HC, Ys, Bu.

38. The king's mother retires in anger to her castle Em, Hu, HC, Pec, MB, Mk, En.

39. The first forged letter announces the birth of a monster MB, Mk, En, Ml, Tr, Da, Em, Vi, Bu, Ol, Pen; two monsters HC, Pec.

¹⁾ In the other forms of γ^* (viz. δ^*), it is absent (no. 46).

²⁾ By land in Ml, Da, which are localised respectively in central France, and in Germany and Italy.

40. One or more substitutes are burnt instead of the mother and offspring Mk, Da, HC, Bu, Ol.

41. The king besieges his mother Ml, Vi, Bu, Ol.

There are two types of γ^* . One, δ^* , is followed by Ml, Tr, Em, (HC, Ys, Pec, Bu), the other, ϵ^* , is followed by Da, Hu, Vi. A mixed group, which in the main follows δ^* , is formed by MB, Mk, En, Ol, Pen. The most important distinguishing features of δ^* are 42, 45, 46, 57, 59, 61, 66, 74.

δ^* is an Anglo-French version, probably of the 12th century (p. 23), of an English saga of Ælla and Eadwine. This saga must have arisen in Anglo-Saxon times, say before 800 A. D. As ϵ^* cannot be traced back further than the middle of the 13th century, and yet, as the above table shows, resembles δ^* in some important particulars, it may be fairly assumed that γ^* , their common original, was a form of the Ælla saga.

δ^*

Ml, Tr, Em, (HC, Ys, Pec, Bu,) (MB, Mk, En, Ol, Pen).

✓42. The father is an Emperor Em, MB, of Constantinople Tr, HC.

✓43. The name Constantine occurs, as that of the heroine's father¹⁾ Tr, son En²⁾, father's successor HC.

44. Her father entrusts her to a governess Ml, Em, HC, MB, Mk.

45. The Pope sanctions the incestuous marriage (Tr³⁾, Em, HC, Mk, En, Ol.

46. There is no mutilation, except in the mixed versions HC, Mk, (MB, En⁴⁾, Ol, Pen.

47. The governess advises flight Ml, HC, MB, Mk.

48. The heroine wears a rich (magic) robe Em, HC, MB, En, so that people are dazzled at her splendour Em, MB, Bu.

1) So in Co, which perhaps agrees with δ^* , as the heroine loses her hands. *corrected*

2) In the prose version KR alone.

3) Marriage with the Sultan, with a view to his conversion.

4) She cuts off her hair.

- ✓ 49. She lands on the coast of Northumbria Tr, HC, Mk.
- ✓ 50. She is found by the king's seneschal Ml, Tr, Em, Mk.
51. She works with her needle Ml, Em, Ys, Bu, Ol, Pen.
(Cf. 46.)
52. The seneschal entertains the king (Ml,) Em, Bu.
53. At first the heroine declines the king's offer Ys, Pec,
Bu, MB, Mk, En.
- ✓ 54. The heroine is accused of witchcraft Tr, Em, Bu,
MB, En.
- ✓ 55. She asks the servants who have received the second
forged letter why they weep Tr, Em, Bu, MB,
Mk, En.
- ✓ 56. She excuses her husband Tr, Em, Bu, MB, Mk, (En).
- ✓ 57. The second journey is in two stages Ml, Tr, HC,
Pec, Bu, Ol.
58. She wanders as a pilgrim or beggar Ml, HC, Bu
(on the former occasion Pec).
- ✓ 59. She comes to Rome Tr, Em, (HC,) Ys, Pec, Bu, MB,
Mk, En.
- ✓ 60. She is found by a Roman Bu, En, senator Tr, MB,
Mk, merchant Em.
61. Her protector (20) adopts her son Tr, Em, HC, Ys,
(Pec,) Bu, MB, Mk, En.
62. The son's education is described (Tr,) Em, Pec,
Bu, MB.
- ✓ 63. The husband lodges at Rome in the house where
his wife is Tr, Em, Ys, MB, Mk.
- ✓ 64. A banquet is held Ml, Tr, Em, HC, Ys, Bu, MB,
Mk, En.
- ✓ 65. The mother instructs her son how to act before his
father Tr, Em, Bu, (MB,) Ol, Pen.
- ✓ 66. The child, unknown to his father, serves him at
table Tr, Em, (Ys,) Bu, MB, Mk, En.
- ✓ 67. The company are charmed with the child Tr, Em,
HC, Pec, Bu, MB, Mk, Ol, Pen.
- ✓ 68. His father asks the host, 'Is this your son?' Tr, Em,
(Bu,) Mk, Ol, Pen. (Cf. 61.)

69. The heroine's father comes to Rome to do penance
(Tr.) Em, HC, Bu, MB, Mk, En.
70. His grandson rides to meet him Tr, Em, HC, Bu, MB.
71. He abdicates Tr, HC, MB, Mk.
72. He becomes a hermit HC, MB.
73. His grandson succeeds to the empire Tr, Em, HC,
(Bu), his son-in-law Ml, MB, Mk.
74. The Saracens are mentioned Tr, Em, HC, Pec, MB,
En (in France Em, HC, MB, at Rome HC, Pec,
in Greece En, in the East Tr, HC, Pec).

Of the twelve versions which follow δ^* , Ys, Pec and Bu (ζ^*) are derived from *HC (pp. 26—28) the original type of HC, and another group η^* is formed by Em, MB, Mk, En, Ol, Pen. We thus have four chief variants of δ^* , viz. *HC, η^* , Ml, Tr. To discover the nature of δ^* these must be examined separately.

(1.) The mixed type *HC. The French romance in alexandrines HC is one of the oldest versions of δ^* . It agrees with Tr in making the daughter of a Greek Emperor land on the Northumbrian coast, here doubtless following the common source δ^* . The heroine on her second journey reaches Tours, where St Martin the Archbishop takes her sons into his service. One of the sons, Martin, succeeds his namesake as Archbishop of Tours, the other, Brice, bears the name of St Martin's actual successor. The husband and wife meet at Tours, and proceed together to Rome. The author is specially attached to Tours and to St Martin¹⁾. ζ^* (derived from *HC) appears to have been written between 1347 and 1360 in the English interest, perhaps in one of the lands belonging to the duchy of Normandy (pp. 28—30). It seems probable then that *HC

¹⁾ Perhaps he was also acquainted with Flanders. The heroine lands near Sluys during her first journey. The mention of Courtray and Douay in some of the prose versions of HC may not belong to the poem, of which no analysis appears to have been published. The mention of the bishop of Amiens may be due to Wauquelin, in whose paraphrase it occurs. See Suchier, *Beaum.* I, p. XXVIII.

was a form of the saga existing in Touraine, and partly localised in that province.

(2.) Tr also contains a reference to St Martin. Alle's steward Elda dies at Tours, and is buried in St Martin's church. Trivet, who was an English Dominican, is remarkable for the accuracy with which he follows his authorities¹). He claims to have taken this story from 'the ancient chronicles of the Saxons'²). After correcting what he knows to be an error in these chronicles, and stating truly that Constance (*Constantina*) the daughter of the Greek Emperor Tiberius Constantinus was the wife and not the mother of his successor Moris (*Mauritius*), he relates the fabulous version. There seems to be a quotation from an English original in the following passage (Brock, p. 19) where Hermynigild, an Englishwoman, makes the sign of the cross on the eyes of a blind man 'et lui dist en sa langage sessone, "*Bisene man, in Iesus name in rode islawe, haue pi sight*".' The persons in Tr bear ancient Teutonic names (*Beaum.* I, p. LXXIII), viz. Alle (*Ella*), Domilde (*Dômhild*), Hermynigild (*Eormengild*), and Elda or Olda (*Ealda*)³). 'Custe', according to Tr, was the Saxon form of Constance⁴).

Whether Trivet really follows an ancient English chronicle is doubtful. Such a work can hardly have been older than the 12th century, or he would not have under-

¹) H. Morley, *First Sketch*, 13th ed. p. 90.

²) 'Mes come dient les aunciene cronikes de Sessounz Cist, solom lestoire de Sessouns auantdites, estoit le fitz Constaunce, la fille Tyberie, de vn rei de Sessouns, Alle, auantnome, que estoit le secund Rei de Northumbre.'

³) The fact that Tr gives two forms of this name is noteworthy. *Elda* and *Olda* may represent an O. E. derivative of *cald*, corresponding to the continental *Aldo*, of which Förstermann (*A. D. Namenbuch*) gives several examples. He also gives the following equivalents of *Domilde*: — *Duamhilt* (Fulda), *Dumilda* (Rome), *Donnehildis* (Morsan-sur-Seine), *Domnovildis* (Fontanelle). Unfortunately the work does not include English forms.

⁴) 'Custe: quar issint l'apellerent les Sessoneys'.

stood the language. The marriage with the Sultan¹⁾, if indeed this is not an invention of Trivet's, points to a date after the first crusade. The burial of the steward at Tours seems to indicate an Anglo-French source. An old English writer would hardly have said, as Tr's original does, that the King of Northumbria was buried at Winchester. Perhaps all that Trivet implies is that his source was a French chronicle professing to deal with Saxon history. It may have contained the English sentence which Tr quotes. Or the chronicle may have been, like Layamon's, an English paraphrase of a French work.

(3.) *Ml* was written by Jehan Maillart in 1312. He gives the persons no names, because, as he says, he does not know them. He appears therefore to have conscientiously reproduced the story as he heard it²⁾. It was related to him by the *Sieur* of Viarmes and Chambly³⁾ (near Pontoise and Senlis respectively), in what is now the department of Oise. The romance however is entirely localised in the country near the middle Loire. The father and husband, instead of being princes, are Counts of Anjou and Bourges. The final meeting is at Orleans, instead of Rome. Étampes, Lorris, and Chartres are also mentioned.

(4.) η^* is of N.French origin, and was written at least as early as 1259 (*MB*). *Mk*, which, though not immediately derived from η^* , is one of the oldest and most complete versions of the group, was the work of Beaumanoir, a nobleman who lived in the Beauvaisis, only a few miles N. of the estates of the *Sieur* de Viarmes et Chambly. Beaumanoir died in 1296, not many years before his neigh-

¹⁾ He consents to be baptized, in order to marry Constance. This replaces the original beginning of the story, to which, especially the Pope's sanction (45), Trivet, as an ecclesiastic, would hardly give currency. The incident in Tr is found in other narratives, e. g. *King of Tars*.

²⁾ P. and G. Paris, in *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXXI, p. 322.

³⁾ This nobleman took part in the negotiations between France and England in 1303 (*ut supra*, p. 320).

bour¹). No very special similarity exists between Mk and Ml, and the local coincidence may be a mere accident. Otherwise it might be conjectured that the tale was current in the Beavaisis in the latter half of the 13th century.

Picardy however cannot be the home of δ^* , which was certainly a version of an English semihistorical saga, and can only have arisen in the Anglo-Norman dominions. The localisation at Tours, which we find in HC, and of which Tr preserves a trace, and the localisation of Ml in the neighbouring provinces of Anjou, Berry, and Orleans, lead to the conjecture that the saga may have been transplanted from England to Touraine in the half-century 1154—1205, during which that province was united with England under the house of Anjou.

The type δ^* has a well marked character. It evidently belonged to that class of half-learned, pseudo-historical metrical narratives, which abound in the Norman literature of the 12th and 13th centuries. The heroine's husband is still a Northumbrian king (18, 19, 49), as in the older saga, but his wife is now an imperial princess from Byzantium (42), and his son becomes Emperor (73). This change, and the mention of the Saracens (74), show that δ^* was written after 1096, the date of the first crusade. The author evidently altered his story to flatter the national pride of the English, or rather of the Anglo-Normans, who at an early date began to identify themselves with the conquered people, and to appropriate almost indiscriminately the heroic traditions of the Welsh, Danes, and English²).

The meeting with a Roman senator (60) is no doubt the invention of this poet, but it may be doubted whether the journey to Rome (59) does not belong to the earlier

¹) Suchier, *Beaum.* I, p. XII; P. and G. Paris, *ut supra*, p. 320.

²) Among the latter may be mentioned the sagas of Waldef and Guy of Warwick, possibly also Athelstan, and Bevis of Hampton.

form of the saga, as *Ælla* is traditionally said to have made such a pilgrimage¹).

The reconciliation of the parents through the child, who waits unrecognised upon his father at table (64—68) is an incident found in other sagas, e. g. the *Charlemagne of Venice*²) (13th cent.), and is here doubtless borrowed. Several other tender or pathetic incidents occur in δ^* (53, 55, 56, 58, 63, 70), characteristic of the Northern races, originally Normans, then English, N. French and Germans, who adopted this type of the saga, and contrasting with the ferocity and passion of ϵ^* (79 [contrast 46], 80, 82), a type more popular among the Italians and Spaniards.

ϵ^*

Da, Hu, Vi, (MB, Mk, En, Ol, Pen).

75. The father is a king in Eastern Europe³), viz. Hungary Hu, Mk, Dacia Da, Russia En.

76. He vows to his dying wife only to marry a woman like her (Hu, Vi,) Mk, Ol.

77. Search is made for such a woman Hu, Vi, Mk, En⁴), Ol, + Bu.

78. The daughter consents if her father will wait Da, MB, Mk, + Ys.

79. He admires her hands, she therefore persuades her servant to cut them off Hu, Vi, Ol, Pen, (she cuts off one hand Da, Mk).

80. She sends her hands to her father Ol, Pen, in a silver dish covered with a cloth Hu, Vi.

¹) This of course is a fiction. *Ælla* appears to have died a heathen.

²) L. Gautier, *Les Épopées françaises*, 2^e éd. III, pp. 69, 70. It is here told of the child Roland. Cf. Uhland's ballad '*Klein Roland*'.

³) In MB, Ol he is a Roman Emperor. In Vi he is Duke of Guienne, and the saga is connected with the 100 years' war. This is borrowed from the ζ^* group.

⁴) So the prose (KR). Like the daughter in En.

81. Her hands are restored before her marriage Da, Vi, Ol, (at the end of the story Mk, Pen).
82. The substitutes (40) are a woman and child Da, Ol.
83. During her second exile the heroine is in domestic service Da, Hu, Mk, Ol + Bu; protected by a woman Da, Hu, Ol.
84. The Blessed Virgin aids her Hu, Vi, Mk, Ol + VM, (an angel Da, a sorcerer Pen).

The connection of MB with his group is shown by 106, 107, 109, 110, 111, 113—119.

The mixed versions MB, Mk, En, all of which belong to the latter half of the 13th century, are the oldest. MB, En are Austrian, and Mk is N. French. The other versions are all S. European, Da, Ol and Pen being Italian, Hu Catalan, and Vi Spanish. Vi, which is a mere fragment, ending with the heroine's marriage, is possibly derived from Hu, with the exception of the allusion to the hundred years' war (p. 30).

ε* has a more popular character than δ*. One or two incidents appear to be borrowed from *märchen*, e. g. 76, 77, which are found in various forms of *Catskin*¹). 80 may be of similar origin. Perhaps, like Ol, the original ε* was an ecclesiastical legend (84).

Why the father is a King of Hungary, Dacia or Russia (75) is not clear. Possibly Da has preserved the localities of the original. Here a daughter of a King of Dacia marries a Duke of Austria, and afterwards takes refuge with a Count in Germany. With this one may connect the fact that the two early Austrian versions MB and En are in part derived from ε*. Suchier (*Beaum.* I, p. XLIII) suggests a blending with the allied *Bertha* saga, which is a variant of the tale of the *Swan-knight*¹). *Bertha*, called the great-footed or the swan-footed, and thought to have

¹) *Catskin* (*Allerleirauh*, *Peau d'âne*) corresponds with the first part of the Constance saga, and the first part of the *Swan-knight* corresponds with the second part. Cf. Suchier, *Beaum.* I, p. LXXIX.

been a Valkyrie, like Thrytho and probably Constance, is a daughter of a King of Hungary. Some writers absurdly call her a daughter of the Greek Emperor Heraclius¹⁾ (cf. 42). She marries Pippin, but a wicked old nurse substitutes her own daughter, and instigates Bertha to wound the latter (cf. the knight's plot in Tr). She then bribes some servants to kill Bertha, but they take pity, and leave her in the forest of Maine. Pippin's cowherd takes her into his service (cf. 36, 83). The nurse confesses and is burnt (cf. 21). Pippin hunting in the forest (cf. 23) visits his herdsman, and so discovers his wife²⁾.

The mixed versions which connect the two main groups β^* and γ^* are HC, Ys, Pec, Bu, Ol, Pen. Of these Ol and Pen borrow very little from β^* . There is a journey by land on the first occasion (3) in Ol, and on the second (28) in Pen. Further in Ol, as in HC, Pec, the heroine lives for a time in a convent (85), and the king finds her while hunting (23). In Pen the cause of the husband's absence is not a war, but a journey, which may be compared with Mk, Ys, Hu, VM. With these exceptions, which may be due to borrowing from a form of *HC, Ol and Pen belong to the group γ^* .

The other versions, HC, Ys, Pec, Bu, are very closely connected together. As is shown below, Ys, Pec, Bu form a sub-group ζ^* , which arose in the 14th century (p. 28 ff.), and contains scarcely any incident common to other versions which is not also found in HC. It cannot however

1) *Gotfridi Viterb. Chron.* Pars XVII. So Vincent of Beauvais.

2) G. Paris, *Hist. Poétique de Charlemagne*, Paris 1865, p. 224 f. Possibly there is a confusion with the legend of St Martin of Tours, who appears in δ^* , and who in some versions of HC is identified with the heroine's son of the same name. St Martin's parents are said to have been pagan Pannonians of Sabaria (Eisenstadt) in what later became Hungary. He converts his mother. The heroine of Tr is a Christian married to a Pagan. St Edwin, whom I suppose to have corresponded in δ^* with the child Martin of HC, was the son of pagan parents, or at least of a pagan father.

be derived from the extant version of HC, as in the latter the saga is embedded in a voluminous mass of extraneous adventures, which are so interwoven with it that no one ignorant of the original story would be able to detach it from its surroundings. There is however no trace in ζ^* of the additions of HC. It may therefore be concluded that the enormous French romance HC is an amplification of a simpler tale of Helen of Constantinople, which may be called *HC. This was also the source of ζ^* .

*HC

HC, Ys, Pec, Bu.

85. The heroine lives in a convent HC, Pec, + Ol.
86. She marries the King of England HC, Pec, Bu, + Mk,
(her son becomes King of England Ys).
87. One son is named Lion HC, Lionetto Pec.
88. She lives in the desert HC, Bu.
89. The son is adopted twice HC, Bu.
90. The Pope summons the husband to Rome to fight
the Saracens HC, (Ys,) Pec.
91. The husband and father go to Rome together HC,
Pec, Bu.

Some further points of agreement will be found under 25, 28, 35, 37, 57, 59, 61. The connection of Ys with this group appears more clearly under ζ^* (below).

There are a few discrepancies between HC and the other variants. ζ^* agrees with δ^* in omitting the mutilation of the heroine, which occurs in HC, though quite abnormally before the second flight instead of the first. The burning of the mother-in-law, which is mentioned in Ys and Bu in common with some other versions (21), is replaced by decapitation in HC. In the latter version there seems to be no mention of the king's sojourn in his wife's abode at Rome (63), an incident common to Ys and δ^* . Ys also, together with β^* and Hu (27), omits the first forgery, and with Of 1, Hu, Mk, and Pen substitutes

a peaceful journey for the war¹). Bu, a German variant of ξ^* , borrows numerous details from ϵ^* , another German type (p. 33).

In spite of these differences of detail, there can be little doubt that Ys, Pec und Bu are derived in the main from a common version ξ^* , and that the source of this was *HC. HC may well have diverged in matters of detail from *HC, and it should be remembered that my information respecting HC is solely derived from the prose paraphrases of the poem²).

ξ^*

Ys, Pec, Bu.

92. The father is a King of France Ys, Pec, Bu, + VM, Yi.

93. The heroine escapes the first time in man's clothes
Ys, Pec, disguised Bu.

94. The children are educated by the Pope³) Pec, Bu
(child), by a Cardinal Ys.

95. The Pope calls a General Council Ys, Pec.

96. The events cause³ the Hundred Years' War Ys,
Bu, + Vi.

This type changes the father's country from Constantinople to France. Bu has a distinctly political object⁴). The author, 'der Büheler', probably belonged to the knightly class, and was born in N. Alsace, but lived at

¹) The husband goes on a journey (Mk, Ys, Hu, VM, Pen), to the court of his father-in-law (Ys, Hu, VM), and attends a tournament or other festival (Mk, Ys, VM). Being quite unable to find a place for this incident in my scheme, I can only suppose its recurrence is accidental, or that the detail is borrowed from some *märchen*. In three cases it is found in Italian versions, once in a Catalan, and once in a French.

²) Thus it is quite likely that the trivial details 36, 51, 53, 62 occur in HC, and if they are not there, they may have been in *HC.

³) In HC, the heroine, separated from her sons, is protected by the Pope.

⁴) See F. Seelig, *Hans v. Bühel*, in *Strassb. Stud.* III, 1888, pp. 243—335.

Poppelsdorf near Bonn, where he was in the service of the Archbishop of Cologne. He wrote this poem immediately after the death of Richard II of England, when a renewal of the struggle with France appeared probable. He was clearly hostile to the House of Valois. Sympathy with the English cause prevailed on the Rhine. The romance is intended to support the English pretensions to the French crown. The son of the King of England is defrauded by the French nobles of his lawful claim to the French throne, which he derives from his mother the heroine. His father, after hastening to the North to repel an attack by the Kings of Scotland and Ireland, invades France to support his son's claim, captures Calais and other fortresses, and quarters the arms of France and England on his flag. Here are clear allusions to Edward III's war with Scotland, which began in 1333, his subsequent invasion of France, and assumption of the French arms, and his capture of Calais in 1347.

The claim to the French throne was surrendered at the peace of Bretigny in 1360, and was not formally revived until the accession of Henry V, thirteen years after Bu was written. F. Seelig suggests that the author followed an earlier political version. He points out that Hans von Büchel, in his other poem, a version of the Diocletian saga, follows his text closely, without displaying any originality. His conjecture is confirmed by the fact that Ys and two other versions, Vi und Fa, connect the saga with the Hundred Years' war. In Ys the King of England makes one of the heroine's sons the heir to his kingdom, and the author states this to be the ground of the English claim on the crown of France. He betrays however no definite leaning to either party. He (or at any rate the writer of the manuscript) wrote in 1370, and may have been an Italian cleric¹). In the Italian *novella* Pec there is naturally no political allusion. Of the two

¹) The story is found in the middle of a commentary on the Old Testament, but why I do not understand. The ms. also con-

15th century versions, Fa is hostile to the English claim, and Vi is neutral. Fazio, who admits that his work is a compilation, borrows another particular from this group, viz. 85, and no doubt derived the political allusion directly or indirectly from ζ^* .

Gutierre de Games, the Spanish author of Vi, narrates the saga, in a fragmentary form, to show how the duchy of Guienne passed into the hands of the English. The connection with Guienne is perhaps due to the war in that province which ended with its conquest by the French in 1453, while Gutierre was writing his chronicle.

ζ^* then was a political romance, freely adapted from the Anglo-French *HC. It was written in the English interest, at some time between 1347, when Edward III laid claim to the French throne, and 1370, when Ys was written. Probably it was written in some part of France which was in English hands, and before 1360, when the English king dropped his extravagant pretensions.

In 1359, 60 Sir Walter Manny, an Anglo-French commander, ravaged Picardy and Artois with a German army hired from the Archbishop of Cologne, and the Dukes of Geldern and Jülich. Hans v. Bühel, who was in the service of a later Archbishop, and seems to have been a soldier, may have heard the story from the veterans who had fought in this campaign forty years before. It is not impossible that he was one of them himself¹⁾. His romance is drawn apparently from memory or oral narration²⁾, chiefly from this Anglo-French political romance, but numerous incidents are taken from some form of ι^* , which appears to have been an Austrian chronicle. The relation of Bu to ι^* is examined below, p. 33.

tains a commentary on Dante. All is apparently written by the same hand.

1) If so, he must have been at least 70 when he composed *Dyocletianus* in 1413.

2) Bu 4251 '*ich kan nit der geschrift*'. See the whole passage ll. 4245—4251. It is noteworthy that in Bu, as in Ml, which is also based on oral tradition, the persons in the story are not named.

η^*

Em, (MB, Mk, En, Ol, Pen).

97. The father calls his daughter to a banquet Em, MB, Mk, En.
98. Her first voyage lasts a week Em, Mk.
99. She changes her name Em, Mk.
100. The king at the feast (52) announces his intention of marrying her Em, MB, Mk.
101. Her second voyage lasts a week (cf. 98) Em, MB, Mk.
102. The boat drifts to the neighbourhood of Rome, without any interruption of the voyage (cf. 57) Em, MB, Mk, En.
103. The husband faints when he hears of the treachery Em, MB, Mk, En, + Bu ¹⁾.
104. The child is 7 or 8 years old when he meets his father Em, MB, Mk, + Hu.
105. The heroine, wearing her rich robe, is led in to meet her husband Em, MB, En.

Em is a translation or paraphrase of an Anglo-Norman or N. French romance *L'Egarce* which we may designate *Em²). While Em substitutes '*Galys*' for Northumbria, Mk preserves the locality of δ^* (49). Other particulars which η^* derives from δ^* are also absent from Em, viz. 43, 47, 53, 60 (senator), 71, 72. It is therefore improbable that *Em, which Em seems to have followed closely, was the source of the other versions of η^* . The source of η^* , viz. δ^* , and its two derivatives *Em and ϑ^* (p. 32) appear to have been French, and such in all probability was η^* itself. It was already in existence in 1259 (MB).

ϑ^*

MB, Mk, En, Ol, Pen.

106. The heroine is ten years old when her mother dies MB, Mk.
107. She reads the Psalter MB, Mk.

¹⁾ See p. 33.

²⁾ Cf. my inaug. diss. on *Emare*, p. 19 ff.

108. Nobles urge the father to marry again Mk, En, + Bu ¹⁾, Hu.
109. The heroine begs the servants to save her child MB, Mk, En, Ol, + Bu ¹⁾.
110. She is shut up in a closed boat MB, or box En, Ol, Pen.
111. It drifts miraculously up the Tiber to Rome MB, Mk, En.
112. The mother-in-law is walled up alive Mk, En.
113. The father's confession leads to the recognition MB, Mk, En, + Bu ¹⁾.

The well marked type ϑ^* is formed by a blending of δ^* and ε^* . From the latter it borrows 75—84. Being the source of the Picard or Anglo-French Mk ²⁾, the Austrian ι^* , and the Italian Ol, it can hardly have been other than French. Mk stands very close to the original ϑ^* , but cannot be identical with it, as some important particulars are wanting, e. g. 48, 54, 74, 79, 80, 110. MB and En form a sub-group ι^* , and Ol and Pen another more loosely attached sub-group.

ι^*

MB, En.

114. The heroine, instead of cutting off her hands, cuts off or tears her hair MB, En, (and scratches her face En).
115. When rescued the first time, she accuses herself of a crime MB, En, + ? Hu.
116. She lands in Greece, and there marries a count MB, the king En.
117. The same vessel is used on both occasions MB + Bu ¹⁾.

¹⁾ See p. 33.

²⁾ Beaumanoir lived in the Beauvaisis. Bordier (quoted by Suchier) supposes on plausible grounds that he lived in England as a page between 1261 and 1265, a few years before writing Mk, his first romance. He may have found his material in England. The scene of his other romance *Jehan et Blonde* is laid in Oxford (Suchier. *Beaum.* I, pp. X, XI).

118. The Roman (60) is walking on a bridge when he sees the vessel in the Tiber MB, En.

119. The Pope baptizes the child MB, En.

MB and En, two of the oldest extant versions of the saga, were both written in the second half of the 13th century, and in the same Austro-Bavarian dialect. The unknown author of MB states (ed. Pfeiffer, col. 3, 10 ff.) that he heard it from a knight who had read it in a prose chronicle. En forms part of a Viennese rimed chronicle. The prose version KR, which closely agrees with En, and is written in the same dialect, may perhaps be its source, and certainly stands nearer the original (Strauch, and cf. Suchier, *Beaum.* I. XXXVI, XXXVII). Neither KR nor En is the source of MB. All three are perhaps derived from an Austrian chronicle.

The fourth German version of the saga, Bu, while derived in the main from ζ^* , borrows numerous details from this purely German group ι^* , viz. 7, 54, 55, 56, 60, 65, 66, 77, 103, 108, 109, 113, 117. All of these occur in MB, except 77 and 108, which are in KR. Bu also contains 41 (Ml, Vi, Ol, Bu) and 83 (Da, Hu, Mk, Ol, Bu), both of which point to ϑ^* , and therefore easily to ι^* . In 52 Bu agrees with Ml and Em.

There remain the two Italian versions Ol and Pen. They both appear to be of popular origin. Ol is the oldest extant version of the Tuscan legend of St. Oliva, the subject of various popular dramas. The Neapolitan *novella* Pen, of the early 17th century, by far the latest of the versions under consideration, has assumed the form of a fairy tale.

Their close mutual connection is shown by their agreement in the following particulars, 21, 31, 32, 33, 36, 39, 46, 51, 65, 67, 68, 79, 80, 110, and by one detail peculiar to the two, viz.

120. The heroine enters the service of a queen Ol, Pen.

Ol, which is the older version, has alone of the two 23, 34, 40, 41, 45, 57, 76, 77, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 109. Pen has scarcely anything common to other versions which is not also found in Ol. There are, it is true, some exceptions. The two journeys are by sea and land respectively, as in γ^* and β^* , whereas in Ol the first is by land and sea, and the second by sea. In Pen a journey takes the place of the war, as in several versions¹⁾. The hands are not restored till the end of the story, as in Mk. The miracle is wrought, not by the Blessed Virgin, but by a sorcerer, whom Suchier (*Beaum.* I, p. LV) identifies with the hermit of β^* , who plays the same part. Some of these coincidences may well be accidental, and on the whole it may be fairly assumed that Pen is derived by popular tradition from some form of Ol, probably from one of the miracle-plays.

The connection of Ol with ϑ^* is indicated by 7, 31, (65,) 63, 76, 77, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 109, 110. On the other hand 3, 23, 32, 57, and 85 seem borrowed from *HC. 33, 34, 40, 45, 67, and perhaps 21, 36, 41, 51, are common to the two sources ϑ^* and *HC.

II. Relation to History.

1. The Northumbrian Saga of Ælla and Eadwine.

Trivet's chronicle contains the only existing version of the Constance saga in which the hero is identified with any historical personage, for Offa I can hardly be regarded as such. The heroine of Tr marries King 'Alle' of Northumberland, i. e. Ælla of Deira, who died in 588. We have already found reason to think that Tr (with the exception of its beginning) follows very closely the important type δ^* , the original of half the literary versions (p. 21 f.). Suchier has suggested a clue, by which perhaps the connection of the ancient saga with Ælla of Deira may

¹⁾ Cf. p. 28, n. 1.

be explained. He says (*Beaum.* I, p. LXXIV): "Dans le récit de la Vita Offæ [I], où le caractère populaire est très marqué, on s'étonne de trouver à la place de la belle-mère le gendre du roi. Est-il possible de mettre en rapport cette circonstance avec les évènements historiques de la vie d'Ælla? Ce dernier était fils d'un Uffa ou Yffi, et son gendre Ædilfrith, roi de Bernicia, ennemi du christianisme, persécuta Eádwín, jeune fils d'Ælla, qui se réfugia chez Cadvom [Cadvan] roi de Gwynedh [Gwynedd]. La fille d'Ælla, épouse d'Ædilfrith, s'appelait Acha; le nom de sa femme nous est inconnu (Lappenberg, *Geschichte von England*, I, 144)."

The force of this argument is rather weakened by several inaccuracies. It must not be understood that Eadwine (like Constance and her son in Tr¹) was persecuted as a Christian, for he remained a Pagan till after his enemy's death. I can find no authority, beyond Lappenberg, for the form *Uffa*²), which suggests *Uffi* and *Uffo*, the Danish forms of the original Offa's name in Sueno Aggonis and Saxo. It would however be fanciful to connect the name of Ælla's father with Offa, if there is no authority for the form *Uffa*.

A more serious error is the statement that Offa's son-in-law plays the traitor. This mistake is due to the analysis of Of 1, given with the Latin text by Brock and Furnivall (*Originals and Analogues*, I). The analysis, "that very prince who had wedded Offa's daughter," is quite different from the original, which has "*illius Regis, ejus filiam Offa sibi matrimonio copulaverat*." The heroine therefore in Of 1 is persecuted on both occasions by her own father³).

¹) The persecution by heathen Saracens only occurs in Tr, and belongs to an episode which is certainly not original.

²) A. S. Chron. *Yffe*, Flor. Wig. *Yffa*, Nennius *Iffi*, Hen. Hunt. *Iffa*.

³) As in the closely allied Roumanian folk-tale z (p. 7), and in a tale by Straparola (I, 4).

In spite of this, Suchier's theory by no means devoid of probability. It is clear from Tr that the saga was attached to Ælla of Northumbria. The question arises whether other versions, including Of 1, preserve traces of this remarkable application of the saga. Five versions in all, including three of the oldest, contain allusions to Northumbria or Scotland.

Of 1 (12th cent.). Offa, king of the W. Angles of Warwick, marries the daughter of a Prince (Regulus) of York. The king of the Northumbri, harassed by pagan Septs and rebellious subjects, acknowledges Offa's supremacy, and in return receives his support against his enemies, and the hand of his daughter.

Mk (c. 1270). The heroine lands at Berwick (l. 173). She meets the Scottish king at Dundee (l. 1241), and marries him. His mother, who plays the traitress, receives as a residence the city of York¹⁾ (l. 2400). There is no war. The king of Scots evidently represents an original Northumbrian or Deiran king, as York is one of his cities. Beaumanoir may well have been ignorant of the existence of a Northumbrian kingdom.

HC (? 13th cent.). Helen lands on the English coast near Newcastle on Tyne, where King Henry is hunting. Here it is the Pope who appeals for help, and the enemy are Saracens, but there is perhaps a war with the Scots on another occasion. See p. 12, n. 1.

Tr (c. 1340). The heroine lands in the kingdom of Northumbria, near the Humber. King Alle, who marries her, goes to fight the Scots. His mother resides at Knaresburgh, a few miles from York (cf. Mk).

Bu (1400). The king of England, who has married the heroine, hastens to the north to oppose an invasion by the kings of Scotland and Ireland. Although there is certainly a reference to Edward III's campaigns, the incident is apparently of older origin.

¹⁾ *Evoluic* = Eoforwic, Suchier, *Beaum.* I, p. LXXIII. In Hu the place is called *Eres*.

In many versions, Saracens take the place of Scots, a trait evidently belonging to crusading times. Suchier's conclusion (*Beaum.* I, LXXIV) that a Scottish, and not a Saracenic war, was original, is beyond dispute.

Bearing in mind the above details in the Constance saga, we may now turn to Ælla and his family in history and tradition.

According to the A. S. Chron., Ælla was the first king of Deira, his father Yffi having been *caldorman* of that country. Ælla began to reign in the year in which king Ida of Bernicia died (559), and most authorities¹⁾ regard him as his successor, i. e. as king of all Northumbria, while others²⁾ give a list of Bernician kings. It is clear that the relations between the two Northumbrian states were unsettled, and that now Bernicia, now Deira, claimed the supremacy³⁾. Ælla wrested it from Bernicia, to which however it reverted during the minority of his son Eadwine. This prince finally in 617 reasserted the supremacy, which he had lost as a child.

The king of Bernicia, then, was Ælla's vassal. In Of 1 the vassal Northumbrian king demands in marriage the hero's daughter. Now Æthelfrith, king of Bernicia, did marry Ælla's daughter. The former's father Æthelric reigned it is true till 593, five years after Ælla's death, but there is good reason to believe that Æthelfrith was the actual ruler of Bernicia during the latter years of his father's life, and that it was he, and not Æthelric, who actually overthrew Ælla, and seized Deira⁴⁾. At least

¹⁾ E. g. A. S. Chron., Wm. Malm., Hen. Hunt.

²⁾ E. g. Flor. Wig.

³⁾ Hen. Hunt. II § 40 (R. S. p. 65) Reges . . . Nordhumbro hi sunt ex ordine. Primus Ida; Ælla; Edelfert; Edwinus.

⁴⁾ Cf. n. 3. Nennius (H. B. § 63) says that Æthelfrith reigned 12 years in Bernicia, and 12 in Deira. (He did reign 24 years from his father's death.) A valuable Life of St. Oswald written soon after 1170 (ed. T. Arnold with *Sim. Dunelm.*, I, R. S.) makes the following direct statements. Cap. 2, p. 341, Elle . . . obiit, et Edwinum filium, Acca videlicet fratrem, regni superstitem de-

such a tradition was current, and that suffices for our purpose. Æthelric is described as extremely feeble and old. His son, as we know, proved the most energetic and aggressive prince who had yet appeared among the English¹⁾. The expulsion of Eadwine the infant heir of Deira is quite in accordance with Æthelfrith's proverbial ferocity (cf. Plummer, *Bædæ Op. Hist.* II, p. 64).

It is however not certain that he married Ælla's daughter Acha before her father's death. The theory that in Of 1 there are traces of an Ælla saga, assumes that at least such a tradition was current. And such is the case. It is repeatedly and emphatically stated in the

reliquit. Ethelfridus . . . Berniciorum rex, licet sororem Edwini regis Deirorum uxorem habuerit, tamen gloriæ cupidus eum regno pepulit, et aliquando pro eo regnavit; and again, cap. 26, p. 362, [Ethelfridus] Ellam regem Deirorum, cujus filiam duxerat, non solum regno pepulit, sed diversis etiam afficiendo cladibus, et pluribus exturbando, sedibus, denique vitam simul et regno privavit; cap. 27, p. 363, gladio peremit. (Plummer, *Bædæ Op. Hist.* II, p. 93, erroneously makes the *Vita S. Oswaldi* represent Æthelric as the slayer of Ælla.)

On the other hand the similarity of the names may have led to a mistake. Thus Layamon calls Æthelfrith *Æluric* (l. 29967, *Calig. A. IX*), and Rob. of Brunne, *Ekfrik* (*R. S. II*, p. 532) and *Elfrik*.

¹⁾ *Vita S. Oswaldi*, cap. 26, p. 362. Quia jam temporis senio et vitæ prolixioris ævo in filiis Idæ regni successio esse non potuit, jam ad alios, sed tamen ad ejusdem generis consobriuos, regni jus hæreditarium descendit. Unde iste Ethelfridus . . . secundi filii Idæ filius, id est Ethelrici filii progenitus, extitit, quique jam deficientibus Idæ filiis sicut nepos ipsius pro illis regii juris regnum percepit. Wm. Malm. Bk. I, § 46 (*R. S. I*, p. 46) Alla mortuo, adeptus est regnum Ethelricus Idæ filius, post detritam in penuria ætatem, extrema canitie provectus, sed veloci morte de medio post quinque annos sublatus. Miserabilis princeps, et quem fama obscura prorsus occuleret, nisi filii conspicuus vigor patrem in speculam extulisset. § 47. Itaque cum longo senio satietati vitæ satisfacisset, Ethelfridus regnum ascendit, major filiorum.

Vita S. Oswaldi (capp. 2, 26, 27. See the quotations above, p. 37, n. 4). It is nowhere directly contradicted¹).

In Of 1, it will be remembered, the Northumbrian king appeals to his over-lord, the hero of the story, for help against invading Scots, and in other versions the hero marches against the same enemy. Aedan mac Gabrain, king of Scots (Dalriada), who reigned from 574 to 606, and was therefore a contemporary of Ælla and Æthelfrith, was a powerful and restless chief, constantly at war with his neighbours (Plummer, *Bede*, II, pp. 64—66). Among other enterprises, he invaded the Isle of Man some five years before Ælla's death. At a later date he waged a war with Æthelfrith, ending in his own overthrow at Degastan in 603. According to Fordun's *Scotichronicon* (III, 28), an untrustworthy work of the 14th century, this prince was the ally of Maelgwn king of Gwynedd or N. Wales against the English at the battle of Fethanleag. The A. S. Chron., *sub anno* 584, states that Ceawlin king of Wessex defeated the Britons in this battle, but the Scots are not mentioned. Fordun places Fethanleag on Stanemore in Westmoreland, close to the frontier of Bernicia. It is however most probably Faddiley in Cheshire²). Dr. Guest (*Origines Celticæ*, II, 285 f.) maintains that the alleged

¹) J. R. Green (*Making of England*, p. 247, n.) thinks the marriage followed Ælla's death. A son of Æthelfrith and Acha was Oswy (Wm. Malm.) who was born c. 613. (The statement of *Vita S. Osw.* I, p. 340, and *Biog. Misc.* p. 3, that he was a bastard son of Æthelfrith is not generally credited.) Acha had also a daughter, St. Æbba, who, as Bede says (*Vit. Cudb.* X), was Oswy's uterine sister. This implies that if they were Acha's legitimate children she was married twice. Now if she married Æthelfrith before 588 (the date of Ælla's death), it is hardly likely, unless she was divorced, that she had a daughter (Æbba) by a second marriage, for Æthelfrith lived till 616; nor again is it likely that St. Æbba was the child of a marriage which ended before 588, for she was still politically active in 681. Cf. Plummer, *Bede*, vol. II, pp. 161, 236.

²) Haigh, *Anglosaxon Sagas*, p. 167. Guest, *Origines Celticæ*, II, pp. 286—289.

Scottish participation in this battle is a mere invention of Fordun's. There is however nothing impossible, or even improbable, in a combination of the two Christian Celtic powers of Dalriada and Gwynedd against the Anglo-saxon pagans. If Aedan marched south to join an ally in Cheshire, Bernicia would be the first English kingdom to come in conflict with him. We learn from the A. S. Chron., *sub anno* 597, the very singular fact that Ceolwulf, who ascended the throne of Wessex in that year, fought the Picts and Scots.

When it is remembered that in the Constance saga the heroine bears a son while her husband is away fighting the Scots, it is a curious coincidence, if nothing more, that the battle of Fethanleag was fought a few months before Eadwine's birth¹).

On the death of his father Ælla in 588, the infant Eadwine was carried out of his country²), and spent many years in exile, wandering, as Bede (*H. E.* II, 12) informs us, from one kingdom to another. According to an ancient Welsh tradition, the child was brought up in Gwynedd or N. Wales. One of the 'Triads of the Isle of Britain' affirms that 'the three chief plagues of Anglesey were bred in it; Cath Paluc, the second was Daronwy, and the third Edwin, king of England³). (Edwin fought the N. Welsh after his restoration.) Geoffrey of Monmouth gives a curious distorted version of Eadwine's adventures. His account, which supports the above passage in the Triads, is doubtless drawn from some Welsh tradition. He says

¹) It appears from Bede, *H. E.* II, 20, that he was born in 585.

²) *Vita S. Oswaldi* capp. 2, 27; Flor. Wig. ed. Thorpe, 1848, vol. I, p. 6; Lappenberg, I, p. 144 (Engl. trans., I, p. 145); J. R. Green, *Making of England*, p. 247 n.; Haddan & Stubbs, *Councils*, I, p. 124 n.; Plummer, *Bede*, II, p. 93; cf. Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, p. 128.

³) *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*, ed. John Thomas. Gee's reprint, Denbigh, 1870, p. 393. *Trioedd ynys Prydain*. 81. Teir prif ormes Mon a fagwyd ynddi, Cath Paluc, yr eil oedd Daronwy, ar trydydd Edwin frenhin Lloegr. I am indebted to F. G. Gordon Esq. for the translation.

(*Hist. Brit.* XII, § 1) that after the battle of Chester (which was probably fought in 616¹) Cadvan king of N. Wales, and Æthelfrith agreed to divide Britain between them. 'Interea contigit ut expulsa propria conjuge Ethelfridus aliam duceret: expulsamque tanto haberet odio, ut eam ex regno Northanhumbriæ expelleret. Porro illa puerum in utero habens regem Caduanum adivit: orans ut ejus interventione marito suo resociaretur. Cumque id ab Ethelfrido nullatenus impetrari potuisset: remansit illa in thalamo Caduani, donec dies partus filium quem conceperat in mundum produxit. Natus est etiam paulo post Caduano regi filius ex regina conjuge sua: nam et illa eodem tempore gravida facta fuerat, exin nutriti sunt pueri, ut regium genus decebat, quorum alter videlicet Caduallo nuncupatur, alter vero Edwinus. Interea . . . miserunt eos parentes ad Salomonem regem Armoricanorum Britonum, ut in domo ejus documenta militiæ, cæterarumque curialium consuetudinem addicerent.' Each succeeds his father, and after a period of friendship they quarrel, and Cadwallon slays Eadwine.

Geoffrey of course cannot be taken very seriously as a historian. His strange mistake in making Eadwine the son of Æthelfrith may have arisen from the fact that he was his immediate successor. At the date of the battle of Chester, Eadwine was about 31 years old. The connection of this event with his sojourn in Wales seems to be a mistake²). Lappenberg (I, p. 144), W. Hunt (*D. N. B.*

¹) Plummer, *Bede*, vol. II, p. 77.

²) Two other accounts of Eadwine's sojourn at Cadvan's court are perhaps borrowed from Geoffrey. A Welsh catalogue of saints (*Bonedd y saint*, in *Myv. Arch.* p. 424,) quotes from the 'Llyvyr Henry Rowland', the age of which is unknown to me, a notice of 'Edwen, a female saint of a Saxon [English] line, she was either a daughter or a niece of Edwin, king of Northumberland, who was brought up from his birth in the court of Cadvan at Caersegaint; her church is in Anglesey.' (Edwen, Santes o Lin Saeson, naill ai Merch ai nith i Edwin frenhin Northumberlant yr hwn addygpywyd i fynu yn llys Gadvan ynghersegaint; ym

s. v. Edwin) and other authorities are inclined to credit the story that Eadwine lived as an infant at Cadvan's court¹). Although he and his mother may have been temporary refugees there, he can hardly have become the Welsh king's foster-son²), for he was not baptized till 627. Geoffrey's romantic story of the strangely linked fortunes of the foster-brothers is no doubt a legendary development of the historical tradition.

The essential point is not the historical truth of the story, but the existence of a legend. And this agrees in several points with the Constance saga. The heroine of the latter flees with her child from the supposed wrath of her husband (in En, as in Geoffrey, from his actual wrath), to a foreign land, where her child (in many versions) is adopted by a great lord. In Da, a count Marco, the protector of the heroine, brings up her son as the foster-brother of his own infant, who is of the same age³). The children become inseparable friends, like Eadwine and Cadwallon.

Mon mae ei heglwys.) The other account is in the *Vita S. Oswaldi*, cap. 9 (Sim. Dunelm, R. S. I, p. 345). 'Postea [after the battle of Chester] Cadwanus cis Humbram regnans Edwinum . . . nutritiv cum Cadwallone filio suo.' Wm. Malm. § 47 writes that Æthel-frith exiled Eadwine after the battle of Chester, but does not mention Wales. William cannot have borrowed this story from Geoffrey's work, which was written somewhat later, but the two men were probably personally acquainted. (Wm. Malm., *Gest. Reg.* ed. Stubbs, R. S. vol. I, pp. XLIV f., XCI f.)

¹) T. F. Tout (*D. N. B.* s.v. Cadvan) rejects the tradition. Skene (*Four Ancient Books of Wales*, I, pp. 67, 68) dates Cadvan's accession 603, and holds that the King of Gwynedd in 588 was either Maelgwn or Iago. It is worth remark that the E. Anglian king Redwald, with whom Eadwine also took refuge, is in the *Vita S. Oswaldi*, cap. 9, erroneously called a king of the *Britons*.

²) So Haigh, *Anglosaxon Sagas*, p. 177. On the other hand Gildas and Nennius agree in describing the religious condition of the Welsh courts as exceedingly debased.

³) Ed. Wesselofsky, p. 33 ff.

In the group δ^* of the Constance saga the mother and child are under the care of a *Roman*, either a senator, citizen, cardinal, or Pope. The child is baptized in MB and En by the Pope, in HC by a bishop. In the group β^* the protector is a *hermit*. Eadwine, as we learn from Bede (*H. E.* II, cap. 14), was baptized in 627 by Paulinus, archbishop of York. The *Annales Cambriae* however, *sub anno* 626, state that he was baptized by *Run* the son of *Urbgen*, and the continuator of Nennius § 63 says ¹⁾ that *Rum map Urbgen* baptized Eadwine, and 12,000 of his people with him. Haddan and Stubbs (*Councils*, I, p. 124 n.) remark that ‘*Run* the son of *Urien* was a Cumbrian chief celebrated by *Taliessin*. He may possibly have become a priest subsequently’. This *Urbgen* or *Urien*, aided by other chiefs of *Strathclyde*, is said to have fought two *Bernician* kings, brothers and predecessors of *Æthelric*²⁾. Young Eadwine, in the course of his wanderings, may have been protected by the family of *Urbgen*, whose enemies the *Bernicians* were his own. If *Run* or *Rum* was called in Latin *Romanus*³⁾, we can understand how the protector in the Constance saga has become a Roman, and the heroine wanders with her son to Rome. Possibly also, like so many Celtic princes of that time, *Run* became a hermit in his old age.

Trivet’s version alone is quite sufficient to prove (that the Constance saga was applied to *Ælla* of *Deira*⁴⁾.
(This conclusion is unaffected by any doubt which attaches

¹⁾ This according to Plummer (*Bede*, vol. II, p. 100) is an evident gloss. He says ‘the whole story may be dismissed as a fable intended to claim for the British church a principal share in the evangelisation of Northumbria.’

²⁾ Contin. Nenn. § 63. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I, pp. 156, 159.

³⁾ Haddan and Stubbs (*loc. cit.*) think he may have been confused with one of several contemporary ecclesiastics named *Romanus* or *Ronan*. Paulinus, it should be remembered, was an Italian, and was sent from Rome.

⁴⁾ But cf. the next section, p. 46 ff. Note that in HC as in Tr the period is that of the introduction of Christianity.

to the other coincidences. The discrepancies can be mostly accounted for by the popularity of the folk-tale, which was of course better known than the historical facts. The traitor, actually Ælla's son-in-law, has become the typical mother-in-law of the heroine. Ælla really perished when his wife and son were banished, and the latter only regained his inheritance by conquest. In the saga, they naturally meet at the end, and 'live happily ever after'.

Eadwine, the real founder of the Northumbrian state, and the great champion of the Christian faith in the North, was such a figure as those about whose memory heroic traditions are wont to gather. His whole life, as told by Bede, is crowded with adventures. They give the story a quasi-epic character, which is hardly found elsewhere in the *Ecclesiastical History*, and which suggests that Bede is following some heroic poem ¹⁾. Among the legends of

¹⁾ Cf. Bæda, *H. E.*, II, capp. 9, 12, 13, 14, 16, 20. The *Acta SS.* throw no further light on the question. St. Edwin's day is Oct. 6.

Ten Brink (*Beowulf-untersuchungen*, in *Q. u. F.* LXII, pp. 224—227) gives reasons for the belief that the conditions in Northumbria in the former half of the 7th cent. were extremely favourable for the growth of epos.

Skeat (*Havelok*, E. E. T. S. Extra Series IV, pp. XXIX—XXXIV, esp. XXXIII) has proved that some traditions about Eadwine were incorporated in the Havelok saga. By comparing the names in the four extant versions of the latter, he shows that the Godrich of the English poem is Æthelfrith of Bernicia. When Havelok attacks and slays Godrich, who has treacherously deprived him of his wife's inheritance, and when he is afterwards himself slain by Saxons, he corresponds to Eadwine who slew Æthelfrith at the Idle, and was himself slain by Penda at Hæthfeld. Again Havelok, like Eadwine, marries the daughter of King Æthelberht, and in each case the Archbishop of York performs the ceremony. The resemblance of Havelok's fortunes to those of Eadwine accounts for the fusion.

There are some slight parallels between the sagas of Havelok and Constance. Havelok's mother, like the heroine of HC, is called *Eleyne* (Skeat, pp. XI, XII). A faithful servant places the child and his mother on board a ship, and accompanies them in their flight (cf. p. 17 no. 34). According to a Grimsby tradition

the royal saint was, as we have seen, one that told of his mother's flight to a Welsh court. As constantly happens in such cases, an ancient folk-tale, current among the Angles, attached itself to this historical tradition. The result, corresponding with γ^* (if not with α^*), was probably one of that vanished class of English epics, which are only known through their Anglo-Norman imitations (*Guy of Warwick* &c.), or through later English versions (*Athelston*).

The question remains whether this Ælla and Eadwine saga is the original of all the literary versions (α^*), or only of the group γ^* . An attempt is made below (p. 53 ff.) to show that the other group β^* is a form of another and later semi-historical saga, that of Offa of Mercia and Cynethryth. Now two coincidences between the saga and the history of Ælla have been mentioned, which belong only to one version of the saga, viz. Of 1, the oldest form of β^* . The incidents referred to are the recognition by the king of Bernicia (Northumbria) of the hero's overlordship, and his marriage with the hero's daughter. It is a singular coincidence that Offa of Mercia, as well as Ælla of Deira, was over-lord and father-in-law of a Northumbrian king. The allusion in Of 1 may be to Æthelred of Northumbria, son-in-law of Offa, and not to Æthelfrith of Bernicia. The war with the Scots would, it is true,

(Skeat, p. XX) Grim found the infant drifting in a boat, and adopted him (cf. p. 19, no. 61). Young Havelok, in spite of his 'king's mark' (as in Em, Da), grows up ignorant of his royal origin. As the Havelok saga undoubtedly borrowed details from the traditions about Eadwine, these coincidences, slight as they are in themselves, support the view that the Constance saga belonged to an epic cycle dealing with Eadwine and his house.

Lastly, Skeat argues (p. XXX) with much force, that the narrators of the *Lai* of Havelok made use of writings, such as those to which Layamon is indebted. The sources of both were Welsh. We have already seen that an Eadwine saga existed in Wales. But as the names in Tr show (p. 52, n. 1) the source of δ^* was certainly English rather than Welsh.

suit the latter better, for there is no evidence that either Æthelred or Offa fought the Scots, who were indeed remarkably quiet in that age¹).

Rejecting, as I think we safely may, the alternative theory discussed in the next section, I regard the type γ^* as a form of the Ælla and Eadwine saga. The question whether α^* was already applied to these historical personages must remain unsolved.

2. Constantine II, King of Scots, and Anlaf Cuaran of Northumbria.

An alternative theory, suggested by the repeated occurrence of the name Constantine in the saga, has been proposed by Suchier. In Tr the heroine's father is Ælla's contemporary the Eastern Emperor Tiberius *Constantinus*, who reigned 578—582. In Co the father is an emperor called *Contasti*. In KR the heroine's son *Constantinus* becomes king of Greece after his father. In HC the heroine's father Antoine, emperor of Constantinople, is succeeded by *Constantine*, King of Bordeaux. Suchier observes (*Beaum.* I, p. CLIX f.) "Ce nom . . . doit appartenir à la tradition originale, que je suppose avoir été une chanson épique en dialecte angle (p. LXXIII). Le Constantin de cette chanson était peut-être ce *Constantinus III, rex Scottorum* (roi d'Écosse ou roi d'Irlande? Voir l'*Athenæum* du 29 août 1885), dont la fille épousa la païen Anlav, roi de Northumbrie et de Dublin, et qui perdit en 938 la bataille de Brunanburg. Comme la tradition suivie par Trivet était mutilée au commencement, il a pu prendre Constantin pour l'empereur Constantin, et Anlav pour Alla, et comme Anlav se fit baptiser plus tard, il était facile de supposer qu'il avait été converti par son épouse."

This theory and that which traces the saga back to Ælla and Eadwine are of course mutually exclusive, and,

¹) They were however, it is said, allies or vassals of Charlemagne, and so may have been hostile to Offa. Cf. p. 59.

as has been seen, there is much to be said for the latter theory.

Constantine¹⁾ king of Scots, whom Suchier calls the Third of the name, is often accounted the Second. He reigned, not over the Scots of Ireland²⁾, but of Scotland, from 900 to 943. His son-in-law Anlaf¹⁾ or Olaf Sitricsen, surnamed Cuaran, was a prince of mixed Norse and Celtic blood. On the death of his father Sitric king of Dublin and Deira in 927, the young heir was expelled from the latter kingdom by Æthelstan king of England. Anlaf lived in exile at Constantine's court, and married his daughter some time before 934. The two allied princes invaded Northumbria in 937, but were routed at Brunanburh. In spite of this disaster, Anlaf was chosen king of Northumbria in 940. He adopted the Christian faith in 943, and Eadmund of England stood sponsor to him and his fellow king Reginald. However in the following year Eadmund drove them both from Northumbria, and at the same time the Irish overran Anlaf's other kingdom, Dublin. Anlaf sailed thither and recovered his Irish possessions. In 949 he reestablished himself in Northumbria, but his subjects drove him finally out of that kingdom in 952. The rest of his long reign was spent in Ireland. After his crushing defeat at Tara in 980, he abdicated and went on pilgrimage to Iona, where he died the next year. Besides Constantine's daughter, he had two Irish wives, and left several sons, one of whom, Gluniarainn, succeeded him in Dublin.

¹⁾ My account of Constantine and Anlav is taken from the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* s. v. Constantine II (Æ. Mackay), and Olaf Sitricsen (Miss A. M. Cooke), and from J. H. Todd's life of Anlav, appended to *The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, R. S. 48, pp. 280—287.

²⁾ Suchier alludes to this supposition for the sake of comparison with the legend of St. Dymphna, virgin and martyr of Antwerp, daughter of an Irish King. I can see no very close connection between her story and the Constance saga, though they are allied.

I notice the following points of agreement with the Constance saga, and more particularly with the type δ^* .

1. The heroine's father is named Constantine Tr, Co.
Cf. HC, KR.
2. She marries a king in Northumbria Mk, HC, Tr,
(Of 1).
3. The husband is a heathen, but is converted Tr
(Cf. HC).
4. The name Anlav, Anlaf or Olaf might be confused
with Ælla.
5. The hero leaves his kingdom for several years, and
crosses the sea, to repel Irish (Pec, Bu) invaders
from a city in his dominions.
6. The heroine's husband and father and the Scottish
king are allied together against a common enemy
HC.
7. The father abdicates Tr, HC, MB, MK, and enters
the religious life HC, MB.
8. The husband goes on pilgrimage.

These coincidences will now be considered separately.

1. Tr, HC, KR are forms of the half-learned type δ^* , which arose in crusading times, and represents the heroine as a Byzantine princess¹⁾. Nothing would be more natural than to introduce the name Constantine. It will be observed that in three cases (Tr, Co, HC) Constantine is an emperor, and in three (Tr, HC, KR) he is a Greek. The father is nowhere connected with Scotland²⁾. As the name Constantine is applied to three different persons, the heroine's father (Tr, Co), her son (KR), and her father's successor (HC) it may have been introduced independently in each case. In two versions indeed,

¹⁾ I cannot determine the relation of Co to the other versions, being ignorant of its contents (p. 6).

²⁾ In Da he is king of Dacia. Dacians, as often, may stand for Danes. But other versions of this group ϵ^* have Hungary and Russia.

KR¹, and Tr², a special reason may be found for the use of the name. On the other hand, if the original of δ^* had Constantine king of Scots, the name may have suggested Constantinople.

2. Anlaf was only *de jure* king of Northumbria when he married Constantine's daughter. He did not actually come into his kingdom till several years later. The circumstances of his marriage are totally different from those of the king's marriage in the saga. In the former case the lady marries a fugitive at her father's court, in the latter she is a fugitive from her father at the court of her future husband.

3. Here the saga fits Anlaf better than Ælla, for the latter died a heathen. In Tr the king is converted through his Christian queen. This may have been the case with Anlaf, as it was with Æthelberht of Kent, and other princes.

4. Trivet, who calls the hero Alle, follows δ^* , in which a Greek emperor's daughter marries a king of Northumbria. If the names of the two sovrans in δ^* were Constantine and Anlav (the latter perhaps in some French modified form), a learned chronicler, such as Trivet was, might identify them either with the emperor Constantine VII (Porphyrogenetos, 912—958), and his contemporary Anlaf, or, as Trivet actually did, with Tiberius Constantinus and his contemporary Ælla. Through Bede, and other writers, Ælla was better known than Anlaf. Porphyrogenetos was succeeded (and perhaps murdered) by his son, whereas the successor of Tiberius was his daughter's husband Mauritius. The saga therefore which represents the emperor as succeeded by his daughter's son, would have appeared to suit Tiberius best. Trivet remarks on the discrepancy

1) The name here according to Suchier (*Beaum.* I, LXXV n.) may be borrowed from Constantine the Great, of whose infancy a similar tale is told.

2) Cf. p. 21.

with regard to Mauritius, whom he knows to have been the husband, and not the son, of Constantina.

5. In Bu the king of England repels an invasion by the kings of Scotland and Ireland. In Pec he departs to conquer a rebellious island (which seems to indicate Ireland). In HC he goes to Rome to deliver it from the Saracens who are besieging it. These three versions belong to the same group *HC. In Of 1 a vassal king appeals for help against the Scots. In Tr the invaders are 'the people of Albany, who are the Scots'. In En the hero repels invading heathen. In MB he delivers his uncle the king of Castile from Saracens. It should be noted that some versions make the king cross the sea, and others make him defend his own territory. He does both in Pec (cf. MB). Now Anlaf ruled, or attempted to rule, both in Northumbria and in Ireland. The circumstances of his departure from Northumbria in 944 are peculiar. We learn from the A. S. Chron. and other English sources (Ethelwerd, Flor. Wig.) that he was expelled by Wulfstan archbishop of York, and that King Eadmund added Northumbria to the English dominions. It was in the same year 944 that the Irish conquered the kingdom of Dublin, and burnt the city. The commander of the Danish garrison was Blacar, a nephew of Anlaf's, and apparently his deputy. In 945 Dublin has been recovered, and Anlaf reigns there. It may be that when in 944 Anlaf heard of the invasion of Dublin, he hurriedly sailed thither with his army, and that Eadmund seized the opportunity of recovering Northumbria. Or Anlaf, threatened simultaneously in both his kingdoms, may have preferred to save Dublin, and await an opportunity (which presented itself five years later) of regaining his lost hold on Northumbria. English chroniclers would represent his departure from Northumbria as expulsion. Partisans of Anlaf would tell a different story. As time went on, and he became a legendary hero, Danish tradition, while preserving the memory of his victories, would ignore Eadmund's five

years' occupation of Northumbria. Anlaf, like the hero of the saga, may have left his queen behind in safe keeping, when he sailed away to the war.

6. In HC the father, who is emperor of Constantinople, the heroine's husband, who is king of England, and Amaury king of Scotland are leagued together in a war against the heathen. In 949 Constantine, now a monk, came out of his cloister, and joined his successor Malcolm king of Scots, and Anlaf, in an attempt, which proved successful, to expel Eadmund from Northumbria.

7. Constantine resigned his crown in 943, and entered a monastery at St Andrews.

8. Anlaf, after his overthrow at Tara, made a pilgrimage to Iona in 980, which might perhaps be compared with the pilgrimage of the hero in the saga. Constantine's daughter was however dead or divorced long before this.

We have to choose between these coincidences and those mentioned in the preceding section, which appear to connect the Constance saga with Ælla and Eadwine. There can be little doubt that the evidence for an Ælla saga is the stronger. One would certainly not expect Constantine of Scotland and Anlaf to become the heroes of an *English* saga. The poem on the battle of Brunanburh breathes the national hatred which these foreign invaders aroused. It is indeed possible that the half-Norse population of Northumbria, fretting under Westsaxon rule, cherished their memory. And if the Constance saga is to be connected with Anlaf, it is to this population and not to Northmen or Kelts that we must look. Suchier (Paul & Braune IV, p. 521) recognises genuine Anglo-saxon elements in the saga. In Of 1 another version is found established among the Mercian Angles. Trivet's express identification of the hero with Ælla is of great weight, especially as his account is certainly drawn from much older documents (whatever 'the ancient chronicles of the Saxons' were), and preserves names which can only have been taken from English, and not from Keltic or Scandinavian

sources¹⁾. It is however, as might be expected, among the Kelts and Northmen that Anlaf appears as a legendary hero. He is mentioned in numerous Norse sagas²⁾. Above all, he was celebrated by the Welsh, and afterwards by the Anglo-Normans, as Abloye, Aveloc, or Havelok the Dane. G. Storm (*Engl. Stud.* III, p. 533) and H. L. D. Ward (*Catalogue of Romances in the B. M.* 1883, I, pp. 423—446, 940) have conclusively proved the identity both in name and story of Anlaf Cuaran and Aveloc Cuaran³⁾. The latter has little or nothing in common with the hero of the Constance saga⁴⁾.

It appears then that the alleged connection of the saga with Constantine and Anlaf is purely imaginary.

1) Trivet's *Alle* does not agree with any form of *Anlaf*. The O. N. *Anleifr*, *Olaf* = O. E. *Anlaf* (*A. S. Chron.*), O. Ir. *Amlaibh* (*War of the Gaedhil*, p. 47 &c.), O. Welsh *Abloye* (*Brut y Tywysogion*, and *Ann. Camb.* an. 942). If the source were Norse, one would expect in O. Fr. *Olave*, if Welsh, *Aveloc*. The O. E. *Eoforwic* (Trivet's *Evoluic*) is O. N. *Jork*, and O. E. *Eormengild* (Trivet's *Hermynigild*) would be O. N. **Jarmungild*. It is strange that in Tr, one of the persons to whom *Alle* entrusts his queen is 'Lucius, bishop of Bangor'. There is also mention of Christian Britons in pagan Northumbria.

2) Cf. the list in *War of the Gaedhil* pp. CI, n. 1, 280.

3) *Anlaf* appears in the Welsh Annals, by a well known phonetic change, as *Abloye*. The form *Aveloc* or *Havelok*, shows that the saga cannot be indigenous in the Grimsby district, but must have been imported from the Kelts. The author of the French *lai*, which according to Skeat (ed. *Havelok*, E. E. T. S.) was written in England, mentions together with several Lincolnshire place-names, a port, *Carleflure*, which cannot be identified, but the name has a decidedly Welsh look. Welsh princes of Strathelyde were among *Anlaf*'s allies at Brunanburh. Skeat (*Havelok*, p. IV), though unaware of the identification with *Anlaf*, argues on other grounds that 'the tradition is British or Welsh'. For *Havelok*'s connection with *Eadwine* see above, p. 41, n. 1.

4) Unless his wife's name *Argentille* or *Goldeboru* can be connected with the heroine's treasures and radiant robe.

3. The Thrytho saga, and Offa and Cynethryth of Mercia.

(a.) The Lives of the Two Offas.

The hero of the oldest extant version of the Constance saga is the half-mythical Anglian king Offa I. This version connects the important group β^* with the very ancient saga of Offa and Thrytho, which, if not, as some think, originally identical with the Constance saga, has at least been blended with it. It appears in its most complete form in the *Vita Offæ II*, part of the same work in which Of 1 is found, and again in a fragmentary form in *Beowulf* 1931—1962. Its origin and relation to the Constance saga have been investigated by Suchier in Paul and Braune's *Beiträge* IV, pp. 500—521, *Über die Sage von Offa und pryðo*.

The Latin work called *Vitæ duorum Offarum* was probably composed in the 12th century¹⁾, but follows older documents. The author, once erroneously supposed to have been Matthew Paris, belonged to the abbey of St Albans, of which Offa of Mercia was a benefactor, if not the founder. Mercian records were no doubt preserved in the abbey. The former of the two Offas is the prehistoric king of the continental Angles mentioned in *Beowulf*, *Widsith* 35—44, and in the Mercian genealogies of the A. S. Chron., Nennius, &c. Saxo and Sueno Aggonis, who wrongly²⁾ call him a Dane, tell the well-known story of his youthful torpor, and his combat on the Eider³⁾. This saga is found, singularly enough, in the Lives of both the Offas, and in both cases the scene is transferred to England. The subsequent adventures of the two kings are also somewhat similar in the two biographies. Each

¹⁾ See Luard, in his edition of Mat. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (R. S.) vol. I, pp. XXXII, LXXX.

²⁾ Kemble, *Beowulf*, II, pp. XXXI—XXXIV; Grein in Ebert's *JB.* IV, pp. 278—285.

³⁾ The subject of Uhland's ballad, *Der blinde König*.

of them finds a banished princess and marries her. As the two stories are obviously parallel, it has been supposed ¹⁾ that the compiler, finding two histories of Offa which he was unable to reconcile, applied them to the two kings who bore the name. It was of course the first Offa of whom these mythical adventures were originally told, but, as I shall endeavour to show, the St Albans chronicler was probably not the first to fall into the error of attaching the saga to the Mercian king. On the contrary, there are details in both biographies, as also in Beowulf, which point one to the conclusion that the saga of the ancient Anglian hero was connected with his more famous Mercian namesake at a very early date, perhaps even, in a satirical spirit, by the contemporaries of the latter.

Offa I, who actually reigned in Sleswick in the 4th century ²⁾, appears in the *Vita* as a king of the W. Angles in England. His father Warmund is called the founder of Warwick ³⁾. The saga was doubtless localised by the immigrant Angles in their new home. Part of the *Vita Offæ I*, which tells of his relations with his wife, is, as we have said, the oldest known version of the Constance saga, and the best type of β^* . According to the *Vita*, the king neglected to perform a vow he had made to found a monastery at St Albans ⁴⁾, and his descendant *Pincerel* the son of *Tuinfreth* ultimately fulfilled the obligation. This

¹⁾ Grein, *ut supra*, W. Müller in *Germania* I, p. 433.

²⁾ P. E. Müller, *Saxo*, II, p. 137 f. Grein, *ut supra*, p. 281.

³⁾ This shows that Wats and Suchier (*Beaum.* I, XXVI) are wrong in altering *Angli occidentales* to *A. orientales*. The W. Angles entered Warwickshire by the Trent valley.

⁴⁾ John Ross, or Rous, a 15th century writer, repeats the story of the wife of Offa I, either from the *Vita* or from a common source. (*Hist. Reg. Angliæ*, ed. Hearne, Oxford 1716, p. 60 ff.) An ambiguous statement of his has been taken to mean that he saw the story portrayed in tapestry in the abbot's hall at St Albans. So D. Haigh, *The A. S. Sagas*, p. 50. But cf. Müller-Velschow, *Saxo* II, p. 139, and Suchier in *P. & B.* IV, p. 505.

Pinered, or rather *Winfrith*, as the name should be read ¹⁾, was King Offa of Mercia, son of *Thinegferth*, the subject of the second Life. He was, according to tradition, the eleventh lineal descendant of the elder Offa. The St Albans writer says that he obtained the name of Offa from the resemblance of his early fortunes to those of his ancestor. Of his youth, however, we know very little. His father belonged to a younger branch of the royal family, and when a revolution had rendered the Mercian throne vacant, the young prince Offa was elected king.

The *Vita Offæ II*, which is evidently derived from various sources, mixes fables and valuable historical facts in a singular manner. After telling of his youth and accession it continues (Matt. Paris, *Historia Major* &c. ed. Wm. Wats ²⁾, Lond. 1684, p. 971) “Diebus itaque sub eisdem, regnante in Francia Carolo rege magno ac victoriosissimo, quædam puella, facie venusta, sed mente nimis inhonesta, ipsi regi consanguinea, pro quodam quod patrauerat crimine flagitiosissimo, addicta est judicialiter morti ignominiosæ, verum ob regiæ dignitatis reverentiam, igni vel ferro tradenda non judicatur, sed in navicula armamentis carente apposita, victu tenui, ventis et mari eorumque ambiguis casibus exponitur condemnata. Quæ diu variis procellis exagitata, tandem fortuna trahente litori Britonum est appulsa, et cum in terra subjecta potestati regis Offæ memorata cimba applicuisset, conspectui regis protinus præsentatur. Interrogata autem quænam esset, respondens, patria lingua affirmavit ‘se Carolo regi Francorum fuisse consanguinitate propinquam, Dridamque nominatam, sed per tyrannidem quorundam ignobilium (quorum nuptias, ne degeneraret, sprexit) tali fuisse discrimini adjudicatam,’ abortisque lachrymis addidit dicens, ‘Deus autem qui innocentes a laqueis insidiantium liberat, me captivam ad alas tuæ protectionis, o regum serenissime, feliciter trans-

¹⁾ See Lappenberg, Engl. tr. II, p. 227, and Thorpe’s note.

²⁾ The *Vita Offæ II* does not appear to have been printed since Wats’s edition.

misit, ut meum infortunium in auspiciū fortunatum transmutetur, et beatior in exilio quam in natali patria ab omni prædicer posteritate.'

"Rex autem, verborum suorum ornatum et eloquentiam, et corporis puellaris cultum et elegantiam pendens, motus pietate, præcepit, ut ad comitissam Marcellinam matrem suam tutius duceretur alenda, ac mitius sub tam honestæ matronæ custodia, donec rēgiū mandatum audiret, confovenda. Puellæ igitur infra paucos dies, macie et pallore per alimenta depulsis, rediit decor pristinus, ita ut mulierum pulcherrima censeretur. Sed cito ad verba jactantiæ et elationis (secundum patriæ suæ consuetudinem) prorumpens, dominæ suæ comitissæ, quæ materno affectu eam dulciter educaverat, molesta nimis fuit, ipsam procaciter contemnendo. Sed comitissa, pro amore filii sui regis, omnia patienter toleravit: licet et ipsa dicta puella, inter comitem et comitissam verba discordiæ seminasset. Una igitur dierum, cum rex ipsam causa visitationis adiens, verbis consolatoriis alloqueretur, incidit in retia amoris illius; erat enim jam species illius concupiscibilis. Clandestino igitur ac repentino matrimonio ipsam sibi, inconsultis patre et matre necnon et magnatibus suis universis, copulavit. Unde uterque parentum, dolore ac tædio in ætate senili contabescens, dies vitæ abbreviando, suæ mortis horam lugubriter anticiparunt; sciebant enim ipsam mulierculam fuisse regalibus amplexibus prorsus indignam; perpendebantque jamjam veracissime, non sine causa exilio lachrymabili, ipsam, ut prædictum est, fuisse condemnatam . . .

"Ex regina igitur uxore sua (quæ se Petronillam nominavit) prolem suscepit sexus infra biennium utriusque, filiumque suum primogenitum Egfridum jussit nominari."

Then follow certain political intrigues of a historical character; which will be discussed presently. The other English kings, jealous of Offa's power, apply to Charlemagne, who promises his aid, and threatens Offa. Jaenberht or Iambert (the text has *Lambertus*) archbishop of Canterbury having sought to betray his country to the

Franks, the Mercian see of Lichfield is raised to metropolitan rank as a counterpoise to Canterbury, and Hygeberht (in the text *Humbertus*¹⁾), Offa's chaplain and confessor, becomes Mercian archbishop. The kings of Wessex and Northumbria²⁾ marry daughters of Offa. "Cumque (p. 980) Humbertus archiepiscopus Lichfeldensis, et Unwona episcopus Legrecestrensis, viri sancti et discreti, et de nobili stirpe Merciorum oriundi, speciales essent regis consilarii, et semper quæ honesta erant et justa atque utilia suggessissent, invidebat eis regina uxor Offæ, quæ prius Drida, postea vero Quendrida, id est regina Drida, quia regi ex insperato nupsit, est appellata . . . Mulier avara et subdola, superbiens, eo quod ex stirpe Caroli originem duxerat, et inexorabili odio viros memoratos persequabatur, tendens eis muscipulos muliebres. Porro cum ipsi reges supradictos²⁾ regi Offæ in spiritu consilii salubriter reconciliassent, et ut eidem regi fœdere matrimoniali specialius conjungerentur, diligenter et efficaciter procurassent, ipsa mulier facta eorum nitebatur in irritum revocare, nec poterat, quibus acriter invidebat. Ipsas enim puellas filias suas, ultramarinis alienigenis, in regis supplantationem et regni Merciorum perniciem, credidit tradidisse maritalandas." The king of E. Anglia woos Offa's third daughter, but Drida treacherously causes him to fall into a pit, where he is slain. To punish this crime her husband (p. 981) "eam jussit omnibus vitæ suæ diebus inclusam in loco remotam secretiori peccata sua deplorare." Some years later she is attacked by robbers and thrown into her own pit, where she perishes.

This Quendrida or Queen Drida is identified with the historical Cynethryth, wife of Offa of Mercia, but as Kemble and Grundtvig have pointed out³⁾, her story is partly the same as that which is told of the mythical Thrytho

1) Confused with another bishop, *Berthun*.

2) The *Vita* confuses these *protégés* of Offa with their predecessors who plotted against him.

3) See below, p. 75, n. 3.

in *Beowulf*. The passage in *Beowulf* will be discussed presently, but we may anticipate so far as to mention that the two accounts agree in the following respects. A lady named *Thrytho* (or in Latin *Drida*) is sent by her father, or some other relative, across the sea. She marries an Anglian king named Offa. Her character is haughty and violent. She repels wooers¹⁾, and seeks the ruin of certain courtiers or companions of her husband.

We may here mention a third tradition. Walter Mapes in his *De Nugis Curialium* II, 17 says of Offa of Mercia, “acceperat sibi conjugem filiam imperatoris Romanorum [Cunnani]. Multa inter Romanos et Anglos audivimus ad utrorumque lacrimas facta conjugia²⁾, quorum hoc unum. Venerant Romani frequenter ad Offam ab imperatore missi, ditatque ab ipso recesserant cum multa laude regis et regni, quos ut Roma vidit vestibus et auro lucidos, statim innata exarsit avaritia.” The Romans persuade Cunnanus to invade England, but a roving Vandal free-lance named Gado arrives by divine guidance at the critical moment, and by his help Offa routs the Romans³⁾. The story in the *Vita Offæ* II, to the effect that the archbishop of Canterbury invited Charlemagne to land troops in Kent⁴⁾, may be compared.

Lastly, in a remarkable Italian version of the Constance saga, VM, which is closely connected with the

1) ‘Nænig þæt dorste . . . nefne sîn frêa, þæt hire an dæges êagum starede.’ *Beow.* 1933—5. ‘Ignobilium . . . nuptias, ne degeneraret, spreuit.’ *Vita Offæ* II.

2) Probably an allusion to the calamitous struggle between Stephen and the Empress Matilda.

3) T. Wright in the Camden Society’s edition of *De Nug. Cur.*, p. 85 says the tale ‘appears to be the abstract of some medieval (perhaps Anglo-Saxon) romance, now lost.’ A grandson of Offa is called *Suanus*.

4) Ed. Wats, p. 978. There were also French legends of an invasion of England by Charlemagne. So *Chanson de Roland*, ed. Gautier, l. 372f. ‘Vers Engleterre passat il la mer salse, Ad oes seint Pierre en cunquist le chevage.’ Offa is the traditional founder of Peter’s pence. See p. 63.

Vita Offæ I, the heroine is the daughter of a king of France, 'at the time that the Roman empire was transferred to the king of France'¹⁾, i. e. she is the daughter of a Carolingian king.

The clue to these various legends, if there is one, must be sought in the political events of Offa's reign.

(b.) Cynethryth, Queen of Mercia, in History.

It will be necessary first to glance at Offa's dealings with his neighbours. The key to the political situation is the conflict between Offa's endeavour to unite England under Mercian hegemony, and the particularism of the smaller kingdoms, which was steadily fostered by the Frankish kings²⁾. The latter appear to have been alarmed at the tendency towards political consolidation which was showing itself in England. Pepin offered alliance to Eadberht of Northumbria³⁾, who was attacked by a predecessor of Offa's, the powerful Æthelbald of Mercia. On Pepin's death in 768, Alchred of Northumbria sent an embassy to Charlemagne, and became his vassal⁴⁾. Charlemagne also acquired suzerainty over the Scottish kings, either of Scotland or Ireland⁵⁾.

The dynastic struggles in Northumbria are very obscure. Eadberht and Alchred, the clients of the Franks, are said to have belonged to the old royal house. In the deposition of the latter king in 774 in favour of Æthelred

¹⁾ *Miraculi della gloriosa verzene*, cap. XI (1475), 'Legesi in una certa cronicha che nel tempo nel quale fu translato el Romano imperio al re di Franza' . . .

²⁾ See Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, 3rd ed., I, p. 569 note D; F. Palgrave, *The English Commonwealth*, 1832, Part I, p. 484 ff.; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, III, p. 486 ff.; E. Winkelmann, *Geschichte der Angelsachsen* (= Oncken's *Allgem. Gesch.* II, 3), 1883, pp. 121—123.

³⁾ Sim. Dunelm., *Hist. Dun.* II, 3.

⁴⁾ Einhard, *Annales*, sub. ann. 808.

⁵⁾ Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, cap. 18. Followed by Poeta Saxo, V, 177. There is a tradition of an alliance between Charles and an Achaius of Scotland (Palgrave, I, p. 484).

we may perhaps see the result of an intrigue of Offa, who had just annexed Essex and Kent. Like his father Æthelwald, who had been set on the throne in 759, Æthelred seems to have been a usurper. He afterwards became Offa's son-in-law. The Northumbrians deposed him in 778/9, when Offa was engaged in wars elsewhere, and they placed a grandson of Pepin's client Eadberht on the throne.

In spite of their rivalry in Northumbria and other kingdoms, Offa's relations with Charlemagne remained outwardly friendly for the first thirty years of his reign, which began in 757. There was a rumour, about 783, strenuously denied by Charles, that the two kings had been plotting to depose the Pope, Adrian I¹), with whom Charles had a quarrel. In 786 Charles and Adrian sent embassies to England. They not only conferred with Offa, but with his old enemy Cynewulf of Wessex. Within the year the latter was murdered by one of his own people, and Brihtic usurped the throne²). Eegberht, the rightful heir to Wessex, who claimed also the crown of Kent, appealed in vain to Offa, and fled over sea to the court of Charles. In the mean time a legatine synod was held at Cealechyth. Offa prevailed upon Adrian, it is said by an immense bribe, to grant the pallium to Hygeberht, bishop of Lichfield. The political significance of this act is clear. A large part of Offa's kingdom was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Canterbury, the capital of a conquered kingdom, where Frankish agents were secretly fomenting rebellion. So long as Canterbury was the ecclesiastical metropolis of Mercia, Offa's scheme of a Mercian England was foredoomed to failure. The danger had already been manifested, if we may believe the *Vita Offæ II*. Kentish rebels had appealed to Charles, who had replied by threatening

¹) *Codex Carolinus* 92, in *M. G. H.* III, *Merow. & Karol. Aevi* I, p. 629.

²) He afterwards married a daughter of Offa's.

Offa. He however crushed the rising. Jaenberht the archbishop of Canterbury is said to have gone so far as to invite Charles to land Frankish forces in Kent¹). Offa, we are told, on discovering the plot, drove him into exile, and set up the rival archbishopric of Lichfield. We know that Charlemagne was not pleased with this innovation, for after Offa's death he supported the request of the archbishop of Canterbury for its abolition.

Offa continued to strengthen his position. He bound Brihtric, the usurper of Wessex, more closely to his interests by giving him to wife his daughter Eadburga in 789. A new revolution in Northumbria set Æthelred once more on the throne in 790, and he at once put to death two princes of the rival dynasty, grandsons of Pepin's ally, and sought to kill a certain Eardwulf²), who at a later date, when king of Northumbria, was forced to fly, and took refuge at Charlemagne's court in 803. Æthelred thus appears for the third time as an opponent of the Frankish party. In 792, a year after these acts, he married a daughter of Offa's named Ælfflæd.

Offa's interference in Kent, in Wessex, and probably in Northumbria, gradually alienated Charlemagne. The latter, it appears, had made an attempt to secure Offa's alliance by demanding the hand of one of his daughters for his son Charles. Offa's conditions are said to have exasperated the Frankish king³). The two rulers closed

¹) *Vita Offæ II*, ed. Wats, p. 978. J. R. Green (*Short Hist.* 1885, p. 40 f.) accepts the story without hesitation. If Jaenberht plotted before the creation of the Lichfield archbishopric, his exile cannot have lasted very long, for already in 789 we find him witnessing three charters together with his rival of Lichfield (Kemble 155—7, Birch 255—7).

²) Sim. Dunelm, *Hist. Regum*, R. S. § 55, p. 52, *ann.* 790.

³) *Gesta Abbat. Fontanell.* cap. 16, in *M. G. H. II*, p. 291. There is excellent authority for this story. Gerwold abbot of Fontanelle (S. Wandrille), who was a collector of customs on the N. French coast, exchanged letters with Offa, and ultimately procured the reopening of the ports. Winkelmann (*ut supra*) p. 122; F. Dahn, *Urgeschichte* (= Oncken II, 2) III, p. 1020.

their ports against each other's subjects in 790, and nothing but the diplomacy of Alcuin, who was on a political mission in England from 790 to 793, averted war¹). Alcuin was specially occupied with the affairs of Northumbria. After his return to the continent he writes that he does not wish for strife, and has never been unfaithful to Offa or the English²). The situation was therefore still critical in 793. Alcuin's language seems to employ that he regarded Offa's cause as in a broad sense national.

The next year the only English kingdom where Offa had not yet gained a footing fell into his hands. The circumstances are somewhat mysterious. St Æthelberht, king of E. Anglia, is said to have demanded the hand of Offa's daughter Ælfthryth. Offa however treacherously slew him, and seized his kingdom (Wm. Malm. *Gest. Reg.* § 86). According to Florence of Worcester (I, 62), and Richard of Cirencester (*Spec. Hist.* I, 262 ff.), Offa was instigated to the murder by his wife Cynethryth. Two St Albans writers (*Vita Offæ* II, p. 980 f., followed by Mat. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* R. S. I, p. 354 ff.), who may be suspected³) of a desire to exculpate their great benefactor, attribute Æthelberht's death to Cynethryth alone. He falls into a pit which she has prepared for him. Afterwards robbers kill her, and throw her body into her own pit. This poetic justice bears the stamp of fiction⁴) (cf. Psalm VII, 15, 16). There is little doubt that the act,

¹) Cf. Dümmler (*M. G. H.*) *Alc. Epp.* 7.

²) Dümmler, *Alc. Epp.* 82. The date of this letter shows that, unless it refers to a fresh dispute, Winkelmann (*Gesch. der A. S.*, p. 122) is mistaken in thinking that the quarrel was over in 790. Also Charles's letter relating to the fugitives (*Alc. Epp.* 85), which W. connects with the same quarrel, was not written before July 793.

³) *Dict. Nat. Biog.* s. v. Ethelbert.

⁴) The miracle-loving Bromton (ed. Twysden and Selden, *Hist. Angl. Scriptores* X, 1652, col. 752) tells that after the murder Ælfthryth prophesied that her mother would be carried off by devils, and would bite out her own tongue, and die within three months, all of which happened.

whatever its motive, was Offa's, and that Cynethryth was at least commonly believed to have incited him to it.

How long the quarrel with Charlemagne lasted is not known. At some date between July 793 and Offa's death in 796, there were Mercian conspirators in the Frankish dominions, who had fled from England for their lives. Charles asked the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Lindsey to intercede with Offa for these fugitives¹). According to a tradition, which may well be correct, Offa visited Rome shortly before his death, either to do penance for the murder of Æthelberht²), or to secure privileges for his abbey of St Albans³). If he went to Rome for the former reason, he must have done so in 794 or 795. The Pope Adrian I was now on very friendly terms with Charlemagne. Possibly he brought about a reconciliation on this occasion. Two letters written respectively by Charlemagne and his minister Alcuin to Offa early in 796 may be thought to imply that friendly relations had quite recently been established. Alcuin assures Offa that Charles is grieved at the murder of the former's son-in-law Æthelred of Northumbria, and is a sincere friend of Offa⁴). Charlemagne's language is still more decided⁵). Addressing Offa as his 'dearest brother', he thanks God for his orthodoxy, promises privileges for English pilgrims who go to

¹) Dümmler, *Alc. Epp.* 85. Cf. the conciliatory letter (Düm. 100) which Charles wrote to Offa in 796, announcing that he had sent some English ecclesiastical fugitives for trial to Rome, where the archbishop of Canterbury then was.

²) Bromton, *Chron.*, *ut supra*, col. 754.

³) *Vit. Off.* II, p. 985, followed by M. Paris *Chron. Maj.* I, 358 ff.; *Gesta Abb. S. Albani* I, 45. Offa's request to Charles for black marble in 796 (Düm. *Alc. Epp.* 100) suggests that he may have seen such during his alleged pilgrimage. Lappenberg (I, p. 230, Engl. tr. II, p. 236) thinks the pilgrimage not improbable.

⁴) Dümmler, *Alc. Epp.* 101.

⁵) *Ibid.* 100.

Rome ¹⁾, and protection for English merchants, and requests the prayers of Offa and the English for the soul of the deceased Pope Adrian. The letter was accompanied by Hunnish spoils, and other valuable gifts. Very soon after, in July 796, Offa died.

The quarrel then, which had been long smouldering, reached an acute stage in 790, was certainly not over before 793, and probably not until a few months before Offa's death.

We may now turn to the traditions about Cynethryth, and examine them in the light of Mercian history. The latter part of the *Vita Offæ II*, which is of a more sober character than the pages describing the king's earlier adventures, states (above, p. 56 f.) that Quendrida incurred obloquy by her political intrigues, and in particular that (a) the special objects of her hatred were Offa's chief advisers, the Mercians Hygeberht, archbishop of Lichfield, and Unwona bishop of Leicester, and that (b.) she tried to prevent the marriages of her daughters with their royal suitors, and wished that their hands might be bestowed on foreigners, so that her husband might be supplanted, and his kingdom ruined.

The evidence of the charters appears to throw some light on these statements. The following table shows that at certain periods Cynethryth's name accompanies Offa's in the charters, while at other periods it is absent²⁾.

¹⁾ According to the *Vita Offæ II*, p. 985, Offa endowed an English hostel at Rome during his visit to that city.

²⁾ I have here followed Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, which is far more complete than Kemble, although no distinction is made between charters which are supposed to be genuine, and those which are called in question. Birch however considers many which Kemble has marked as doubtful to be genuine. If only those which the latter accepts be counted, the general result will be the same. I have omitted certain charters which have lost the list of signatures, and others which cannot be even approximately dated.

A. D.	Of.	Of.&Cy.	A. D.	Of.	Of.&Cy.	A. D.	Of.	Of.&Cy.
757—69	6	—	777	2	1	786	1	1
770	2	2	778, 9	4	—	787	2	1
771	—	—	780	4	4	788	2	1
772	3	1	781	2	2	789	3	—
773	—	—	782, 3	—	—	790	1	1
774	3	3	784	1	1	791—6	8	—
775, 6	—	—	785	2	2			

From 780 to 788, it will be seen, Cynethryth's name is only lacking twice in a total of 14 charters. In the remaining 8 years of the reign, however, out of 12 charters, only one bears her name, which does not occur at all in the last 6 years. The absence of the queen's name in these last years might indeed be accounted for by the supposition that she died in or soon after 790, were there no evidence that she survived her husband. Though this cannot be conclusively proved, it is in the highest degree probable. Not only is Cynethryth traditionally associated with the murder of Æthelberht in 794, but in 798 Æthelheard, archbishop of Canterbury, allowed a certain Cyne-dritha, abbess of Cookham, to retain the abbey, which Offa had unjustly seized and left to his heirs, but she agreed to give up certain lands in Kent which had come into her possession in the same irregular way. The charter (Kemble 1019, Birch 291) is admitted to be genuine, both by Kemble and Stubbs, but the latter is uncertain whether this abbess was Offa's widow, or his great-niece of the same name, the daughter of Coenwulf, the reigning king of Mercia. The latter suggestion seems extremely improbable¹).

¹) Cf. Stubbs, in *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, s. v. *Kenethrytha*, also Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, III, p. 512. Coenwulf's daughter Cynethryth must have been quite young in 798, at least if she had the same mother as her brother Kenelm, for he was not born till 814. The archbishop says of the estates in Kent 'quas scilicet terras olim rex Offa sibi viventi conscribere fecit, suisque hæredibus post

There are two charters of 796 (Kemble 172, 173; Birch 280, 281) ascribed to Ecgferth, which bear the name of *'Cyneðryð regina'*, and one of 798 (Kemble 1017, Birch 285) ascribed to Coenwulf and witnessed by *Kynedryþ* abbess of Glastonbury, but these are doubtful.

Alcuin in his above mentioned letter to Offa (*Ep.* 101, Düm.) writes a few weeks before the latter's death, *'Saluta quoque illam dominam et dispensatricem domus regiae. Vivat illa felix et in prole paternæ beatitudinis gaudens.'* The last words seem to mean, 'May she rejoice in her children who are a blessing to their father', language which would be appropriate if Cynethryth be the lady alluded to¹⁾, seeing that her son was Offa's coregent, and two of her daughters had married his allies. We know from other letters of Alcuin's (61, 62) that he was personally acquainted with Cynethryth, and that he esteemed her highly.

The last charter of Offa's which Cynethryth is known to have witnessed was the confirmation on the 12th of April 790 of a gift of land near London to the Abbey of St Denis near Paris, which is well known to have enjoyed the special patronage of Charlemagne²⁾ (Birch, 259). The names of Unwona and Hygeberht also appear on this document. It was probably signed before the closing of the harbours in the same year. With this exception, the last known charter of Offa's that Cynethryth signed was in 788 (Kemble 152, Birch 253). It is the first signed by Hygeberht as archbishop of Lichfield. His name appears regularly on Offa's charters from 781, and Unwona's name from 785.

eum.' How Coenwulf's daughter can be supposed to have inherited this property from Offa during her father's lifetime, not to say surrendered it, I do not understand.

¹⁾ This is the view of Jaffé, quoted by Dümmler, *M. G. H. Epp.* IV, p. 148.

²⁾ In the same year, and doubtless before the blockade, the *ealdorman* of Sussex leased the harbours of Hastings and Pevensey to the same abbey. Winkelmann, *Gesch. der Angelsachsen*, p. 122.

We find then that Cynethryth disappears in 788, the year in which Hygeberht received the pallium. This was precisely the critical period in Offa's reign, when his independant and aggressive policy began to create a breach between him and Charles. Cynethryth reappears for a moment in 790 to witness the conferring of a favour on Charles's abbey of St Denis. Immediately after this the quarrel between the two kings breaks out, and with the doubtful but significant exception of St Æthelberht's murder, we hear no more of Cynethryth until the spring of 796, when Charles and Offa are fully reconciled. She is then, it appears, peacefully presiding over her husband's household.

We have seen that Cynethryth's traditional enemies, her sons-in-law Æthelred of Northumbria and Brihtric of Wessex¹⁾, and her husband's chief adviser Hygeberht, are Charlemagne's enemies. Their rivals, Eardwulf, Ecgberht and Jaenberht, fly to Charlemagne's court, or carry on intrigues with him.

It is clear from all this that Cynethryth took an active part in politics, and that she sided with the Frankish party. A wife who could systematically thwart her husband's ambitions, and a mother who could repulse her daughters' royal suitors, as she is alleged to have done, must have been dominated by a strong motive. If she belonged to one of the disinherited houses of Northumbria, Wessex, or Kent, her conduct would perhaps not be unnatural.

The *Vita Offæ II*, it will be remembered, asserts that she was of the Frankish royal house, a relative (*consan-*

¹⁾ Asser relates on the authority of persons who had known her, that Cynethryth's daughter Eadburga, after accidentally poisoning her husband Brihtric, with whom she had lived at enmity, fled on account of the odium she had excited in Wessex to Charlemagne, who jestingly asked whether she wald marry him or his son. It has been thought she was that daughter of Offa whom Charles had demanded for his son. See below, p. 72 n. 3.

guinea) of Charlemagne himself. The statement in itself seems highly improbable, but is worth investigation. It agrees, as has been shown, with a story told by Walter Mapes, and with the Italian legend VM. Charles of course did not assume the imperial title till after Offa's death, but he had long been virtually Roman emperor, and the mistake is one which might very naturally have arisen later. In Mapes's story there is an evident reference (quoted above, p. 58) to the diplomatic relations between the two kings. It is impossible to explain the name *Cunnanus*, which I can find nowhere else recorded. That the MS. reading is sound is proved by an obscene pun upon the name, which Mapes quotes¹). The only Carolingian name even remotely resembling it is *Carlomannus*. The elder Carloman, mayor of Austrasia, was of the right age to be Cynethryth's father²). He retired into a monastery in the prime of life in 747. He had more than one son, but with the exception of Drogo his eldest son, the names of none of his children are recorded.

The name *Cynethryth*, which was not uncommon in England, occurs also on the Continent. The Alemannic equivalent *Chunidrud* appears in a list of names taken by Goldast from an ancient MS. in the monastery of St Gall³). The second element in the name occurs with

¹) 'Domnus Cunnanus nihil est nisi cunnus et anus.'

²) Cynethryth had two children living in 770, in which year her name and theirs are recorded for the first time (Birch, 203, 204). Of these children, one, Ecgferth, was crowned as Offa's coadjutor 18 years later, and the other, Ælflæd, was married 22 years later. Another daughter, Eadburga, was married 19 years later. Cynethryth's marriage may therefore have taken place about 768, and she may have been born c. 742—752. It was in 768 that Charles and Carloman II succeeded Pepin, and probably in the same year that the king of Northumbria sent an embassy to Mayence, and became Charles's vassal.

³) Goldast, *Rev. Alem. Scr.*, 3rd ed., Francf. 1730, II. a, 121. Cf. Wartmann, *Urkundenbuch*, and Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch* I, p. 313. The latter gives also *Chunidrut*, who however was an Englishwoman, and accompanied St Boniface to Germany.

remarkable frequency in the family of Charles Martel. His father had a wife *Plectrud* and a daughter *Gertrud*. His own wife, the mother of Carloman and Pepin, was *Chrotrud*, his daughter was *Chiltrud*. Charlemagne had daughters named *Chrotrud*, *Chiltrud*, *Adeltrud*, and *Richtrud*¹). Cynethryth herself had a daughter *Ælfthryth*, and a grand-niece *Cynethryth*.

The following coincidence is more striking. According to the *Vita Offæ II* (p. 971), Cynethryth was also called *Petronilla*. The saint of this name, a legendary daughter of St Peter, was especially venerated by the Carolingian princes. Pope Stephen II began the work of transforming the mausoleum of the Christian emperors in the Vatican into a chapel of St Petronilla. On his death in 757 his brother and successor Paul I finished the work, and in the same year translated the sarcophagus of the saint to the new chapel. "This was done in fulfilment of a promise made by the pope's brother and predecessor Stephen II to Pippin king of the Franks, on his visit to his court, as a token and pledge of the alliance between the papacy and the Franks against the Lombards. . . . St Peter being specially honoured by the Franks, and being their patron saint (*Epp. Steph. II. IV. V. in Cod. Carol. in Patr. Lat. XCVIII, 101, 102*), Petronilla naturally shared in the veneration paid to her reputed father, and is in fact styled by Paul I. the *auxiliatrix* of Pippin (*Epp. Pauli I. XIII in Cod. Carol. in Patr. Lat. XCVIII, 150*) . . . There her body remained, the chapel being considered to belong in an especial manner to the kings of France . . . To the present day the French ambassador, after presenting his credentials to the pope, visits the chapel of St Petronilla²)." .

¹) *Reg. Franc. Geneal.*, in *M. G. H. II*, 312; Einhard, *Vit. Karol.*, in *M. G. H. II*, 453; Aletuin in Migne, I, p. 50.

²) From F. H. Daniell's article on *Petronilla*, in Smith and Wace's *Dict. Christ. Biog.* See also *Liber Pontif.* in *Patr. Lat. CXXXVIII*, 1139; Gregorovius, *Gesch. der Stadt Rom*, 1886, II, 307—309; Guettée, *Hist. de l'église de France*, 1848, III, 52.

The two Popes were intimately associated with Pepin and his brother Carloman. Pepin wished Pope Paul I to be sponsor to his daughter Gisela, whose chrism he sent by the hand of the abbot of St Martin's at Tours. Paul deposited it with great pomp in the new chapel, and dedicated an altar to the saint to commemorate Pepin's piety¹). In 755, two years before the completion of St Petronilla's chapel, Carloman had died a monk. His sons had been placed in a monastery in 754. If he also left a daughter or ward, no more appropriate religious name could have been found for her than Petronilla. In *HC, a group derived in part from the Offa type *β, the heroine lives in a convent before her marriage (p. 27, no. 85).

According to the same group *HC, the Pope is besieged in Rome by the Saracens, and appeals to the heroine's husband and father for help (nos. 90, 91). Now in 756 the Lombards besieged Rome, and Pope Stephen II appealed to Pepin, and to the Greek Emperor Constantine V, to rescue him.

Finally it may be mentioned, though the fact is of no great significance, that Charlemagne repeatedly addresses Offa as his 'dearest brother'²).

The chief objection to the hypothesis of Cynethryth's Carolingian origin is the silence of the older authorities, both English and Frankish. The statement is not made until the 12th century, when it appears in two fabulous or half-fabulous stories (*Mapes*, and *Vita Offæ* II). 'But the argument from silence is not conclusive. The A. S. Chron. does not mention Cynethryth at all. The absence of any reference to her in Frankish authors might be accounted for if she was a member of some collateral branch of the Carolingian house.

¹) See Paul's letter to Pepin, mentioned in the above quotation.

²) Dümmler, *Alc. Epp.* 85, 87, 100. Offa is '*frater carissimus*', '*dilectus frater*'. But Charles also addresses two Greek emperors with the words '*fraternitas*', '*dilectus frater*' (M. G. H. *Epp.* IV, *Karol. Aev.* II, pp. 546, 556).

Possibly then, Pepin, shortly before his death, or Charles, immediately after his accession in 768, took some obscure relative from the cloister, and sent her to England to attach Offa, the most powerful of the English princes, to the Frankish interest¹). After the marriage, it may be supposed, she steadily kept her political mission in view, in spite of the growing hostility of the two kings, thereby incurring much hatred in Mercia, and perhaps temporary banishment by her husband²). If the tradition of Offa's pilgrimage to Rome is true, she may have become reconciled on that occasion, as happens in the saga.

The accounts of Cynethryth's character are conflicting. In a letter of advice to Egferth, perhaps on the occasion of his coronation in 788, Alcuin speaks of Cynethryth in words of high though somewhat conventional praise. Alcuin is not given to flattering his friends, and were the queen's character as scandalous as other writers represent, the compliments he pays her would savour too much of irony. He writes to her son (Jaffé 45, Dümmler 61) 'Ecce quam nobilissimis natus es parentibus, quam magna enutritus cura. Noli moribus esse degener, qui nativitate generosus exstas. *Disce diligenter illorum exempla: a patre auctoritatem, a matre pietatem; ab illo regere populum per justitiam, ab ista conpati miseris per misericordiam; ab utroque christianæ religionis devotionem, orationum instantiam, elynosinarum largitatem et totius vitæ sobrietatem.*'

A letter of Alcuin's (Jaffé 46, Dümmler 62), written at an unknown date to Hundruda, a nun connected with Offa's court, shows that he was personally acquainted with Cynethryth, and intended to write to her. He says, 'Saluta, obsecro, domnam reginam ex meæ parvitatís nomine: *scripsissem hortatorias illi litteras, si illi propter*

¹) Cf. Charlemagne's later proposal of a match between his son and Offa's daughter.

²) In *Vita Offæ II*, Offa banishes her from his presence until her death, on account of the murder of St Æthelberht.

occupationes regis meos apices legere licuisset. Sciat tamen certissime me sibi quoque¹⁾ [*sic*] domino, quantum valeo, fidelem esse.' Can the meaning of the rather obscure italicised sentence be that Offa had forbidden his wife to receive letters from Alcuin?²⁾ If so, they were probably political instructions.

The Northumbrian ecclesiastic and Frankish statesman was thus on friendly terms with Cynethryth. The *Vita Offæ II*, which was probably derived from Mercian sources, presents a very different picture from that which Alcuin draws. Cynethryth is 'mente nimis inhonesta', 'molesta', 'procax', 'mulier avara et subdola, superbiens, eo quod a stirpe Caroli originem duxerat'; mention is made of her 'inexorabile odium', and her 'verba jactantiæ et elationis, secundum patriæ suæ consuetudinem'. Richard of Cirencester must have known some similar tradition, for he writes that Cynethryth's daughter Eadburga queen of Wessex was incited *by her mother's example* to acts of atrocious cruelty, of a very similar character to those attributed to Thrytho in *Beowulf*. Richard here follows Asser very closely, except that the latter attributes Eadburga's crimes to her father's example; '*more paterno tyrannice vivere incepit*', he says. It is possible that Richard of Cirencester in his '*materna tyrannide incitata*' has preserved the original language of Asser, and that we should read *more materno*³⁾. We have already seen that Cynethryth

1) Should this be *suoque*?

2) It would have been rather absurd to say that he would have written had not the queen been too busy to read his letter, unless indeed the remark is ironical.

3) Asser, *De Ælf. reb. gest.* (ed. Camden, 1603, p. 3), '*More paterno tyrannice vivere incepit, et omnem hominem exsecrari, quem Beorhtic diligeret, et omnia odibilia Deo et hominibus facere; et omnes quos posset ad regem accusare, et ita aut vita aut potestate per insidias privare; et si a rege illud impetrare non posset, veneno eos necabat*', &c. She seems to have inherited something of her mother's character. Her subsequent adventures also remind us of what is told of Cynethryth and Thrytho. Having

was traditionally connected with St Æthelberht's murder. It has been thought that an indication of her arrogance is to be found in the silver coins bearing her name, which are the only extant Anglo-saxon coins struck by a woman¹).

Enough has been said to show that, in spite of Alcuin's testimony, Cynethryth gained a reputation among her husband's people for violence and unscrupulous ambition, and probably that the patriotic Mercians hated her for her favour to their country's enemies.

(c) The Thrytho Saga in Beowulf.

Since Müllenhoff published his theory on the composition of *Beowulf*, most commentators have admitted that the passage 1931²—1962, containing this saga, is an interpolation. Müllenhoff attributes it to his 'Interpolator B'²). H. Möller finds traces in it of an independent strophic song³). Suchier regards the passage as an interpolation

accidentally poisoned her husband with a drink intended for one of his courtiers, 'cum illa inter Occidentales Saxones diutius fieri non possent, ultra mare navigans cum innumerabilibus thesauris Karolum . . . Francorum regem adiit'. He offered in jest either to marry her to let her marry his son. She ultimately died miserably at Pavia. Richard of Cirencester, following Asser, says (*Spec. Hist.* ed. Mayor, R. S. I, p. 260) 'Brithricus . . . habuit . . . reginam nomine Eadburgam, Offæ regis Merciorum filiam, quæ multis suffulta honoribus, miris se ambitionibus extollebat. Nam materna tyrannide incitata omnes de regno nobiles ordinatos et viros religiosos ad regem accusare et execrare consuevit' &c.

¹) Lappenberg, *Gesch. v. England*, 1834, I, p. 231. Palgrave suggested that these coins were struck by her namesake, the daughter of Coenwulf, who assumed the royal title after murdering her brother Kenelm in 821. 'This however,' says Hawkins (*The Silver Coins of England*, 3rd ed. Lond. 1887, p. 38), 'is inadmissible, for the style of the work and name of the moneymen prove that she was contemporary with Offa.'

²) *Die innere Geschichte des Beowulfs*, in *ZS. f. d. A.* XIV, 1869, pp. 216, 243, reprinted in M's *Beowulf*, 1889, pp. 133, 159.

³) *Das ae. Volksepos*, Kiel, 1883, p. 104. The attempt at reconstruction is too violent to carry conviction.

of the 9th century, containing allusions to Cynethryth of Mercia, the memory of whom, he thinks, caused the old Thrytho saga to be told here in a modified form. Hence the existence of two divergent forms of the story in this passage¹). Ten Brink finds two distinct interpolations, viz. (a) 1925—1944, and (b) 1945—1962. The author of (a), which is the earlier of the two interpolations, desired to drag in, regardless of appropriateness, a reference to the mythical Thrytho, in allusion to some contemporary event. The lines (b) cannot, in Ten Brink's opinion, have been written by the author of (a), as there is no longer any contrast with the good queen Hygd²).

The passage 1931²—1962 may be thus translated. (a) 'Thrytho displayed arrogance, terrible violence³) — that haughty⁴) queen of the people; no bold man among the dear comrades, save her lord, durst venture to gaze upon her with his eyes by day⁵); but if he did he might count on death-bands as his portion, wound by hand; then quickly after his arrest⁶) was the sword ordained, that the blade might make judgment known⁷), might proclaim the doom of death. Such is no queenly custom for a princess to practise, though she be peerless, — that a peace-weaver

¹) Suchier in *Paul und Braune* IV, p. 510 f.

²) Ten Brink, *Beowulf-Untersuchungen*, in *Q. u. F.* LXII (1888) pp. 115—118. He thinks (b) mainly composed of two older parallel epic fragments, viz. 1947²—49¹ + 1957²—60¹, and 1949²—57¹.

³) *fīren ondrysne*. Rieger (in Zacher's *ZS.* III, 402) suggests *firenum* o., Suchier *fīren-ondrysne* qualifying *môð*, 'a savage heart'.

⁴) *fremu. æn. eiq.* Bugge trl. 'bold', Grein and Heyne 'glorious', Rieger 'foreign'. Thorpe suggests *Froncna*, 'queen of the people of the Franks', Kluge *frécnu*, 'terrible'.

⁵) *an dæges*. Leo *ân-dæges* 'the whole day', Suchier *and-æges*, 'eye to eye'.

⁶) *æfter mund-gripe*. Rieger, 'after touching her with his hand'.

⁷) *þæt hit sceaden mæl scyran . . ste* MS. So trl. Suchier, following Bugge, who reads *scæden mæl scyran môste*, and translates 'that after the decision the blade might make it known'. Sievers *scæden-mæl*, 'inlaid sword'; Heyne *scaeden-mæl scyran*, 'that the scathing sword might decide'.

on account of a pretended insult should assail the life of a liege-man. However Heming's kinsman checked that. (b) At the ale-drinking men told a different tale, that she committed less crime, less malicious violence, after she was given, gold-adorned, to the young champion, the noble and the bold; after, voyaging over the fallow flood, at her father's bidding she had sought Offa's hall; there upon the throne from that time was she famed for goodness, and enjoyed well, while she lived, the fortunes of life; and she bore high love to the lord of warriors, who was of all mankind, as I have heard, the best between the seas, in the wide world. For Offa was a man bold with the spear, far renowned for gifts and warlike feats; with wisdom he ruled his nation. Thence arose Eomær¹⁾ for the help of warriors, Heming's kinsman, Garmund's grandson, mighty in war.

That the Offa here mentioned is, primarily at least, the legendary Anglian hero is clear from the names of his father Garmund, and his son Eomær²⁾. It is indeed an open question whether there is any allusion at all to the Mercian king in the passage. The story is however obviously identical (p. 58) with that in the *Vita Offæ II*³⁾.

¹⁾ Êomær. So Bachlechner, in Pfeiffer's *Germania* I, 298. MS. *geomor*.

²⁾ *Garmund* however does not agree phonetically with the *Wermund* of the genealogies. Also the latter make Êomær the son of *Angelþeow* or *Ongenþeow*, and the grandson of Offa. Nothing is really known of Heming. See below, p. 78, n. 2.

³⁾ This was first pointed out by Kemble, *Beowulf*, 1837, vol. II, *Postscript to Preface*, pp. XXXII—XXXVI, but was not thoroughly established till Grundtvig (*Beowulf*, Copenhagen 1861) discovered the proper name *þryðo* in *Beow.* 1931. Previous commentators, regarding the word as a common noun, had supposed Hygd to have married Offa, a hopeless anachronism. Grein's suggestion '*Môd-þryðo*' (Ebert's *JB.* 1862, p. 281) has not found favour. The only serious attempt to overthrow Grundtvig's reading is that of K. Körner in *Engl. Stud.* I, 489—492. He has failed to prove his contention, although his comparison of *Beow.* 1931² *môd þryðo wæg*, with a phrase in *Genesis* 2238² *hyge þryðe wæg* (of Hagar), is worthy of remark.

Its source, as is generally believed, was an ancient myth. Kemble ¹⁾ and Grimm ²⁾ identify the heroine with the Norse *þrúðr*, who in the *Grímnis-mál* 36 is one of the thirteen Valkyries. The name Thrytho is generally regarded as a derivative of O. E. *þrýð* 'vehemence, strength', which agrees well with her character. Grimm however equates the name with the O. H. G. *trât* 'beloved' (*traut*). He identifies the Valkyrie with the *Trut*, *Drute* or *Drude* of S. German superstition, a witch or evil spirit, who commonly takes the form of the nightmare. She has much in common with the Valkyries ³⁾. Numerous O. H. G. names, such as *Alpdrûd*, *Wolchandrûd*, *Himilindrûd* recal the supernatural character of *Thrúthr*. With *Blictrûd* ⁴⁾ may be compared a gloss in *MS. Cotton. Vitell. A. 15*, '*vîlcyrigean eágan*, gorgoneus', which, as Grimm suggests, may indicate that the glance of a Valkyrie struck terror ⁵⁾. Thrytho causes the death of those who gaze upon her. Particular forms of *Thrúthr* are St *Gertrude*, in whose legend the Valkyrie can be plainly recognised ⁶⁾; and *Hermuthruda* ⁷⁾ (*Eormenþryð*), in Saxo a queen of Scotland, grandmother of Offa I. As a virgin she is haughty, unapproachable and cruel, and causes her wooers to be slain, but from the moment of her marriage she becomes an obedient and submissive wife. Her story is parallel with that of the Valkyrie Brunhild in the Siegfried saga. Both heroines correspond to the ancient Teutonic ideal of womanhood. Now in the Thrytho episode in *Beowulf* there are two

1) *Beowulf*, 1837, II, *Postscript to Preface*, p. XXXV f.

2) *Deutsche Mythologie*, ed. 4, 1875, I, p. 349 ff. Cf. notes in III, p. 120.

3) E. H. Meyer, *Germ. Mythol.*, p. 118 ff., Mogk in Paul's *Grundriss*, ed. 1898, III, p. 268.

4) Grimm, *Gesch. d. d. Sprache*, p. 532.

5) Grimm, *D. Mythol.*, ed. 4. I, p. 346. The analogous Frau Berchta strikes people blind (Meyer, *Germ. Myth.*, p. 280). Emaro, who is a form of Constance, dazzles and terrifies her beholders with her magic splendour (vv. 351, 446, 697).

6) Meyer, *Germ. Myth.*, p. 177; Grimm, as in n. 4.

7) Grundtvig, *Danm. folken.*, IV, 52, followed by Bugge.

conflicting versions of the heroine's conduct. It is the second version (b) that corresponds to the sagas of *Hermuthruda* and *Brunhild*. The other version (a) makes *Thrytho* remain haughty and fierce after her marriage. For these reasons, Müllenhoff¹⁾, Ten Brink²⁾, and Suchier³⁾ agree in regarding the version in (b) as the ancient *Thrytho* saga, and that in (a) as a modification of it due to some historical allusion. Ten Brink, who rejects the *Cynethryth* hypothesis on chronological grounds, suggests that there may be a reference to the acts of *Osthryth*, a Northumbrian princess, who was queen of *Æthelred* of *Mercia*, and was murdered in 697 by the Mercian nobles⁴⁾. Such a supposition is no doubt possible, but there is little evidence for it. A far more plausible case can be made out for *Cynethryth*, whom Müllenhoff, and after him Suchier, regarded as the person alluded to. The chronological objection to this view is not insuperable. Ten Brink himself admits (*Beowulf*, p. 246), and Sarrazin⁵⁾ agrees with him, that the latest redaction of *Beowulf* may have taken place as late as 787, though hardly later. In that year occurred the first recorded Danish raid on the English coast⁶⁾. *Offa* had been 30 years on the throne, and had probably been married to *Cynethryth* about 20. Should it be urged that the language used of *Offa* and *Thrytho* suggests the memories of a later generation rather than an allusion to a king and queen actually reigning, it may be replied that even this is not impossible, for although a general

1) *ZS. f. d. Alt.* XIV, pp. 216, 243 = Müllenhoff's *Beowulf*, 1889, pp. 133, 159.

2) In *Q. u. F.*, LXII, pp. 229, 230.

3) In Paul und Braune's *Beiträge*, IV, p. 507.

4) *Bæda*, *Hist. Ecc.* V, 24; *A. S. Chron.* ann. 697. An alleged charter of *Æthelred*'s (*Kemble* 33, *Birch* 76) contains the words "Pro absolutione criminum vel meorum vel conjugis quondam meæ *Osthrythæ*." This charter is spurious according to *Plummer*, *Bæd. Opp. Hist.* II, p. 154.

5) *Beowulf-studien*, pp. 117, 133.

6) *A. S. Chron. sub ann.* 787.

new-modelling of the poem after 787 is highly improbable, there is no reason why a short passage, in no way connected with the Danes, should not have been inserted at a later date.

Viewed in the light of Cynethryth's career, as I have endeavoured to sketch it in the previous section, the Thrytho episode in *Beowulf* seems to become intelligible. The author of (a) introduces abruptly as a familiar figure the mythical Thrytho to contrast with Hygd, just as in another place the same poet probably contrasts Heremod with *Beowulf*¹⁾. He does not repeat in all its detail the well-known Anglian saga, and, instead of dwelling on the submissiveness of Thrytho to her husband, he emphasises her previous wildness and condemns it (l. 1940 f.), just briefly alluding (l. 1944) to the taming of the shrew. The oblique reference to Thrytho's high-spirited and unpopular namesake would be perceived at once by the poet's audience²⁾. Indeed it would seem not improbable that the

1) *Beow.* l. 1709 ff. So Ten Brink, who remarks that the poet does not find it necessary to explain who '*Heminges mæg*' (l. 1944) is.

2) Suchier (*P. u. B.* IV, p. 512) mentions but rejects the idea of another possible topical allusion by this interpolator, viz. a reference to the contemporary Danish king Hemming, who, according to Einhard (*Annales*, ann. 811), made peace with Charlemagne in 811, and agreed to fix his frontier at the Elbe. Although Hemming did not succeed his uncle Godric or Godfrid till 810, and died in 812, two of the older chronicles (*Chron. Erici*, apud Langebek, I, p. 156, and *Ann. Esrom.*, *ibid.* p. 227) state that he reigned 28 years, i. e. from 784/5. The latter of these chronicles places his accession in the year of the conversion of the Saxons, i. e. 785 (a false date for the latter event is given, viz. 776). The probable explanation of the difficulty is given by Cornelius Hamsfort in his *Chronologia Secunda*, a work compiled in the 16th century from various chronicles, some of which are now lost. He says (apud Langebek, I, p. 267) that the above-mentioned Godric reigned jointly with Hemming's father, and that on the latter's death Hemming succeeded to some of the Danish provinces. If there is any truth in these statements, Hemming was reigning in Denmark in the latter years of Offa, at the time when I suppose the passage (a) to have been interpolated in *Beowulf*. According to the *Annales Esrom.*, the Danes assisted the Saxons against Charlemagne in 784, and the

application of the old story was already in everybody's mouth. *Cwên-pryð*, the punning perversion of the Mercian queen's name, which occurs, not only as *Quendrida* in *Vita Offæ II*, but as *Quendritha* in Roger of Wendover (ed. Coxe, R. S. p. 249), resembles a satirical nickname. *Thrytho* might well be a popular abbreviation of *Cynethryth*, just as today in Germany *Trudi* is used for *Gertrud*. It should be remembered, as Kemble remarks, that to Christian ears a Valkyrie name would be associated with the powers of darkness.

The author of the interpolation (a) seems, in any case, to have been the spokesman of the discontented Mercians. The passage may well have been written in Cynethryth's life-time. Such bold criticism of the royal consort, especially if she was a foreigner, is not to be wondered at, considering the independent temper of the old English free-men.

The second interpolation (b) strikes a different note ¹).

sister of Witikind had married Hemming's father. As Suchier notices, a brother of Hemming, *Angandeo*, bore the same name as the son of Offa I, *Ongntheow*. The recurrence of the two names suggests that the brothers came of that same royal house of Angeln to which the reputed ancestors of Offa of Mercia belonged. There was another Hemming whom Langebek (I, pp. 505, 520) considers a first cousin of his namesake the Danish king. (The Frank *Haming* lived in 647, not, as Suchier says, in the 6th cent.)

Possibly then the author of (a), an opponent of the Frankish party, claimed Charles's enemy the Danish prince Hemming as a distant kinsman of Offa of Mercia.

It is tempting, though probably quite delusive, to look for another topical allusion in the very singular passage *Beow.* 2911—2922 (esp. 2921,2), which according to Müllenhoff is the work of the same 'Interpolator B.' The raids of the Northmen lasted from 787, when the Frankish king began 'withhold his favour', till 794, the eve of the reconciliation.

¹) Prof. Sarrazin points out to me that while the style of (a) is obscure and archaic, that of (b) is simple and clear, and resembles Cynewulf's diction. It certainly belongs to the latest stratum of the poem. I would suggest that the author of (a), if he was a contemporary of Offa, used fragments of an older Thrytho poem.

It is the voice of the courtier, and not of the angry patriot. The writer does not altogether deny the charge of violence (ll. 1946, 7), but he condones it. Thrytho's crimes belonged to her youth. After her marriage she became an admirable queen, devoted to her husband. Perhaps this interpolator wished to tell the old saga of Thrytho in its true form. He also probably wished to flatter Offa by an implied comparison with his glorious ancestor. Offa of Mercia was, as the poet suggests, famous both for state-craft and for military success. The poet seems, although no partisan of Cynethryth, to paint her conduct in milder colours for the sake of minimising the court scandal. In an age when poetry was still largely preserved by oral tradition, it was much easier to soften down obnoxious passages by additions than to expunge them. No doubt Cynethryth's strange behaviour was a favourite subject of contentious gossip among the 'politicans of the beer-table' (l. 1945 *calo-drincende*).

Earle, who regards the whole poem of Beowulf as the work of a single author, and pervaded by a single moral idea, finds in the passage 1925—62 "the central aim and purpose of the poet" (*Deeds of Beowulf*, p. LXXXIV). "The link", he says (p. LXXVII), "between Offa and Eomær is skipped, and Eomær is made son of Offa, because Eomær is here intended to represent Ecgferth, the son and heir of the living Offa. The admonitions of the poem, indirectly and allegorically conveyed, are intended for the benefit of the ruling family, and more particularly for Ecgferth the heir to the throne." Again (p. LXXXV), Thrytho's "name like that of Hygd is fictitious and allegorical. It means *hauteur*, contemptuous haughtiness, *superbia*, *ὕπερηφανία*. The name was suggested by that of Cynethryth, Offa's queen. The poet's object is to create an allegorical parallel between the mythic Offa and the reigning king of Mercia. The vindictive character here given to Thrytho is a poetic and veiled admonition addressed to Cynethryth." It may be objected, not only

that Earle's theory gives the poem far too artificial and elaborate a character, but also that it is impossible on his view to account for the existence of the same story in a fuller form, and above all of the same name (*Drida*), in the *Vita Offæ II*, where they can hardly be derived from the passage in *Beowulf*.

Whether the Thrytho saga was originally identical with that of Constance is a question which hardly admits of a definite answer. The coincidences between the latter and the fragmentary episode in *Beowulf* amount to very little. In both a chaste and high-spirited maiden¹⁾ is sent by her father's orders across the sea, and marries an Anglian king. In one version of the Constance saga, Of 1, the king is the same as in *Beowulf*. This proves a connection, which however may be explained as plausibly by the theory of fusion as by that of original identity. Suchier favours the former view (*P. u. B. IV*, p. 519). The version in *Offa I* is essentially a type of the Constance saga, as is shown not only by the heroine's character²⁾, but by the presence of the second part of the story, including the forgery and the second exposure. These incidents are lacking in *Beowulf* and *Offa II*, the two representatives of the Thrytho saga.

The version in *Offa II* however resembles the Constance saga more definitely than the incomplete version in *Beowulf* does. The maiden drifts in an oarless boat,

1) Suchier (*P. u. B. IV*, p. 518) compares the fierce Thrytho with the Manekine, who cuts off her hair (as in 6 other versions), and with Custance in *Tr*, who pushes a wooer overboard, and drowns him. The latter incident, like many others, is found in *Tr* alone.

2) Thrytho (in *Beowulf* and *Offa II*) is wicked, while Constance is a pattern of persecuted innocence. I do not attach much weight to this difference. Thrytho was a Pagan ideal of virtue, distorted by religious bias, Constance has been harmonised with Christian ethics.

lands on the English coast, and incurs the enmity of the king's mother.

The problem is complicated by the confusion between the two Offas, of which, as has been already observed, there seem to be traces, not only in *Beowulf* and the *Vita Offæ II*, but in group β^* of the Constance saga. Possible instances have already been adduced, in the Carolingian origin of the heroine ¹⁾ (VM), her residence in a convent before her marriage (*HC), and the appeal of the besieged Pope to the heroine's relations (*HC). The old mythical Thrytho saga was applied to Cynethryth. Certain traditions (whether based on fact or not), grew up concerning that queen, which as it happened bore a general resemblance to incidents in the Constance saga. If the two sagas were originally distinct, it may easily have happened that these resemblances brought about their fusion. Among these parallel incidents ²⁾ may be mentioned the voyage of an imperial princess to England (the Byzantine Constance — the Frankish Cynethryth), her marriage with an Anglian king (Ælla — Offa of Mercia), the marriage of his daughter with a Northumbrian king (Æthelfrith — Æthelred), the heroine's banishment and flight to Rome, her husband's pilgrimage thither, and the reconciliation of the royal couple.

¹⁾ In Of1, her father is a chief (*regulus*) of *Eboracum*. Haigh (*A. S. Sagas*, p. 59) suggests, in support of quite a different view, that this name is due in this place to a confusion between *Ebuorices* or *Ebroica*, i. e. Evreux in Normandy, and *Eboracum* or *Ebraici*, i. e. York.

It is perhaps worth noting that the heroine of VM marries the son of a duke. Offa's father was a noble of the royal Mercian house.

²⁾ Of course I do not mean to imply that these incidents were, in most cases, anything more than popular traditions, some of them fabulous, others founded on fact.

Little has been done in the foregoing pages but to follow up some of the clues given by Suchier. The results of the enquiry are, and perhaps must be, inconclusive. Still, as affording a typical illustration of the development of a saga, they are not without a certain interest. If, as is often averred, the tale is a nature myth, it is to be hoped that folk-lore experts will some day solve the problem of its origin and significance.

Appendix.

La filla del emperador Contasti.

Prof. Suchier has begun to publish in *Romania*, under the title *La fille sans mains*, the results of his later researches in connection with the Constance saga. In Nov. 1901 (*Romania* XXX, pp. 519—538) appeared as the first instalment the text of the Catalan version *La filla del emperador Contasti*, which I have mentioned on p. 6, and designated (Co¹). The MS. is of the 15th cent. Suchier considers the version to be derived from oral tradition.

It is not difficult to assign Co a place in the table on p. 13. The father is a Roman emperor called *Contasti*, i. e. Constantine²), and there is no mutilation³) (Nos. 42, 43, 46). This definitely connects Co with the group δ^* , and excludes it from the mixed sub-group ϑ^* , in which the father is a king in Eastern Europe, and the heroine mutilates herself. In addition to the original incidents 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 20, 21, Co agrees with γ^* in 32, 35, 36, 37, 38, and with δ^* in 41, 42, 43, 46, 52, 58, 59, 64,

1) The present number is *Fonds espagnol* 682, not 475.

2) He begins to reign in 396 A. D., the date of the division of the empire.

3) My statement on p. 18, n. 1 is due to a mistake.

73, 74. Further, 97 and 102 appear to connect it more particularly with η^* . Unless the occurrence of 109 in Co is a mere coincidence, this trivial detail may perhaps be transferred to η^* . The heroine's age at her mother's death is twelve, and her son's age at the time of the recognition is six. Cf. 106, 104.

We may therefore probably place Co under η^* . In this case it will be most nearly related to *Emare*, with which version it has more incidents in common than any other.

Co contains further 76, 108, 77 (which really form one incident), and 83, in common with the other Catalan version Hu, from some form of which it has probably borrowed them. So also Contasti admires the heroine's hands (cf. Hu, 79).

Finally, the king of Spain goes hunting, and being benighted while pursuing a lost falcon, lodges at the house where his future wife lives, an incident which reminds one of β^* (23). This may be a borrowing from some folk-tale, which is particularly likely in a case of oral tradition.



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